

# LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly

\$1

Vol. 2 No. 4

sección en español

April 1991

## MEET THE NEW WORLD ORDER

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY WITH ASSISTANCE  
FROM MATT BLACK

**I**N A PERIOD OF LESS THAN two months the US military decisively defeated the Iraqi military, thus ending the conflict in the Gulf which had focused activists onto anti-war work for the past six months. This rapid military victory has left the anti-war movement reeling — many of us expecting a conflict that would be substantially more drawn out. This expectation was based both in our belief that the Iraqi army would offer resistance, and our understanding that it would take a more prolonged war to reverse the patriotic mood of public opinion and generate more widespread opposition to the war. The war was quick, and, for the US relatively bloodless, and the movement we wanted to see didn't have time to materialize.

Which is not to say that there was no opposition: millions of people did pour into the streets to express their outrage against the war and it is important not to lose that energy. The US is exploiting the current civil unrest in Iraq to further

pursue its overarching aim of controlling politics in the Middle East; and the possibility remains that if things get "out of hand," the US may re-enter the war. We support the Iraqi rebellion but are critical of the cynicism of the US in its involvement. The system that made the Gulf war possible and necessary is still going strong and destroying peoples' lives around the world. However, we shouldn't hide behind slogans of "The War Isn't Over"; instead we should be critically examining what the war, and our failure to stop it, really meant.

### The Resurgent Empire Vs. The Vietnam Syndrome

A very ugly mood has possessed the United States around this war. Tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of Iraqis, civilians and soldiers were slaughtered over a period of weeks as the US lead forces rained death all across Iraq, and no one seems to

(Continued to page 4)

## BASH BACK

The Case  
Against Queer  
Non-Violence

Page 5

## WIR SIND ALLE BERLINER

"We are all jelly donuts"

A Letter from the  
Berlin Squats

(Center)

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# Letters

## Let's Do It Again

Dear Love and Rage and readers,  
After reading Paul O'Banion's article on the January 26th anarchist contingent, I wanted to write in and voice some of my opinions. I completely agree with his criticism that "to call what occurred a Black Bloc... would be to reduce ourselves to a mere parody of the Central European autonome from whom the tactic emerged."

However, although we were disorganized, I don't think that was the whole of the problem. Under the right circumstances some disorganization can lead to more spontaneous, creative actions than might have occurred under a specifically decided plan with a vanguard of leaders.

One of our major problems was lack of numbers for the break-away. Had we been 1000 strong in front of the World Bank, we could have been much more effective. As it was, walking down that street with about 100 people, throwing stones, feeling very isolated from the rest of the demonstration, I did not exactly feel "empowered."

If the police had descended upon us brutally, no one outside of the anarchist community would ever have known about it. In addition, there seemed to be not even the barest outlines of a plan in mind. Some people may have known where we were headed or why we were doing what we were doing, but the majority seemed to have no idea, and just blindly followed the people in front of them.

The red paint bombs, the broken windows, were all well done, but M-80s? What purpose did throwing them on the sidewalk (where people were standing) serve? Once we start tactics like that, it becomes real violence against people, not merely symbolic property damage. We all should be aware of why we are doing anything at demonstrations, whether it's simply burning flags or breaking windows on the Treasury Building. Our theories must be translated literally into practice; mean what you do and do what you mean.

Finally, I saw a lack of cohesiveness among the contingent. Each group seemed to have its own separate plan of action and it seemed to me that people didn't really mingle and (I hate this word) network with each other. Perhaps people might have felt more of a willingness to stick by each other and participate in things as a large bloc if they had known at all the individuals marching beside, in front, and in back of them.

So that's all I wanted to say. Remember, I'm not completely putting down the Black Bloc. It's a great idea, a good first start, let's do it again!

Anarchy, Peace and Equality to all of you out there.

Rachel Rinaldo  
New York, NY

## CORRECTIONS

The photograph accompanying the interview with Mok Chiu Yu was uncaptioned. The photo was from a demonstration in Tokyo against the repression of the Democracy Movement in China. Mok was the figure on the right.

In Paul O'Banion's article "Black Bloc Pesters World Bank," a misguided drive for gender-neutral language led to the substitution of the word "autonome," which means "autonomy," for "autono-

## Beware of the Goddess

Dear Love and Rage,

I'd like to address some concerns I have about the cover graphic on the March International Women's Day issue. Although I greatly appreciate the aesthetic form and simplicity of the cover, I question the content of this statement about women's self-determination.

First of all, there are other ways for women to determine our lives than through violence. Many women find violence very frightening as they have long associated it with men and find it difficult to engage in. Although I agree it is important for women to fight back, I feel women's self-determination is a more complex struggle, involving many tactics most of which don't require throwing cinder blocks, the most important being self-organization and education directed toward being able to make the decisions that affect our lives.

Ultimately this fight may come to blows, or blows may be appropriate to a circumstance, but I would have preferred to see a celebration of women's self-empowerment and determination through other means. If we are to redefine femininity or even humanity I should hope we don't envision an axe in our hands.

This, however is not the most disturbing aspect of the picture. Although I must say it's very well done, the only aspect that could be conceived as utopian actually perpetuates one of the most dangerous female stereotypes—associating women with nature. Given the current popularity of earth-goddess mythology, even among the so-called anarchist community, I think it's especially important to try and nip this in the bud.

The cover depicts a bare-breasted woman (by the way, why are all the women naked?) blending in with the landscape, with trees sprouting up around her breasts, flat on her back with her eyes closed while a bird circles her head.

This equation of women with nature has historically corresponded to the equation of man with culture and the ecocidal idea that we must dominate this "other" and extricate ourselves from it—be it mother or earth, in order to mature—as men and as a "civilization." I don't think the artist had this in mind, by any means. However, this Goddess trend, by attempting to reverse this dichotomy and hail matriarchy over patriarchy, still denies women's rightful and historical role as culture creators and enshrines qualities, i.e. we are more natural, that were constructed by patriarchal culture. I am no more natural than men and if I was that woman I'd rise up and determine myself by exploring all my potentials.

No offense intended KA—your art is irreplaceable—just constructive criticism I hope so that we can all grow.

Laura Lib  
Minneapolis, MN

men," which means "those who are autonomous."

A passage in "An Introduction to Anarcha-Feminism" by Laura Lib used the word "masochism" instead of the original "machoism." The passage should have read: "Such a fixation on violent tactics often pressures women (and men) into positions where they don't feel safe—like all machoism."

## Anarchist Gathering in Mexico City

The following is a translation of a letter from an organizer working on the 1991 Anarchist Gathering to be held in Mexico City.

I send you and the Bound Together Collective, fraternal greetings. Also to the Anarchist community.

This letter has been begun many times, since I would have liked to send you exact dates for the events which we are organizing. But still there are no dates although there are already agreements, disagreements, and reflections.

### Agreements:

A) To organize the first local libertarian gathering in Mexico City in January (Still no definite date).

B) To organize the first regional libertarian gathering in May (probably May 1) in Queretaro, Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

C) To bring about a National gathering in August.

D) To have the international gathering in November.

Also: to put out an informational bulletin, to construct a libertarian network, and to

tive, "Without Rules" who put out a fanzine,

4) The group "TV-Neza" who put out alternative videos and work with cultural groups, and

5) Cultural Project Latin, who are in the student and punk scenes.

### Disagreements:

In May, Luis S. (a Mexican who is currently living in San Francisco) made various telephone calls to *Testimonios* creating a few strong problems:

A) He said that Bound Together (an anarchist bookstore in San Francisco) had questions due to its having donated money to Mexico and that it would like some accounting of that money.

B) The group around Mestre (Ricardo Mestre—sort of unofficial patriarch of some Mexican anarchists) and *Testimonios* demanded accounting of the money, in spite of not having attended any of the meetings, except for the fifth one (April 7) where they didn't say anything.

C) The Queretaro group defined its position on the side of Mestre and away from us.

D) The assemblies of the first four meetings decided to invest the fund, approximately 4,200,000

here trust Luis S. and we don't consider him part of our community, nor do we want to have anything to do with him.

At the root of all this there seems to be a growing gap between young and old that troubles us for the future of the movement. As for now, frictions have eased a bit, and we seem to be beginning to get closer again, but it is difficult after all this fighting. We used to think it better to work with the young to spread our ideas, instead of always having to discuss things with the "old ones."

### Reflections:

It is very sad for us to see the Mexican anarchist movement continuing in a crisis that we can't seem to overcome:

The lack of organic structures—with the dissolution of the Mexican Anarchist Federation in the '70s, already it wasn't possible to do organizing, and the majority of compañeros began to work in other social and political organizations.

Group sectarianism continues—for example *Tierra y Libertad* and *Testimonios* confuse the new people who enter the movement.

The lack of work with youth, which prevents the rejuvenation of existing groups. The kids who come into the movement come mostly from schools and the punk movement and see the in-



A FENCE IS ONLY AS GOOD AS  
THE PEOPLE WHO STAY BEHIND IT

develop connections with other parts of the alternative movement.

### Discussions

We have had six meetings during the first stage of organization:

- 1) January 10 (in Mexico City),
- 2) January 26-27 in Queretaro,
- 3) March 3,

4) March 24—when we have arrived at a few first agreements: to have 2 local gatherings—one in August, the other in December; a national one in March, 1991 and an international one at the end of 1991. We created work committees and had a theoretical discussion between anarchists and libertarians... producing divisions and separation of people.

In the fifth meeting, there were new people and they proposed organizing by themes, jobs and groups. But at the sixth meeting there were only 6 people and there was much demoralization. People began thinking that nothing was happening and that we should stop having meetings. This was on Saturday April 21.

When I returned to Mexico, I spoke with various people and we concluded that the general assembly hadn't developed an organizing structure that would have continuity, so it was proposed to work on coordinating the collectives. We began working on developing a libertarian network formed by five youth collectives:

- 1) Anarchist Liberation Movement—formed by students and punks who work at the Preparatoria Popular Ciudad Azteca,
- 2) The "Radical Change Positive Force Collective" who work in the punk scene,
- 3) the feminist punk collec-

pesos (about \$1,400), instead of keeping it in the bank until the international conference gets organized. The money was loaned out in the following manner: 1,500,000 pesos (about \$500) to the Atlapulco commune so they could finish buying land for their commune.

1,300,000 pesos (about \$450) for the publication of *Motin*.  
1,100,000 pesos (about \$375) for the publication of a community magazine in Meza and to buy video equipment for the TV-Meza collective.

300,000 pesos (about \$150) to a compañera for an abortion.

So far we have been repaid in this way:

300,000 pesos from the compañera.  
400,000 pesos from TV-Meza  
300,000 pesos from *Motin*.  
250,000 from the commune—in the bank, we now have 1,250,000 pesos.

The Mestre group considered it fraud for us to have used the money for these projects and maintains that all the money should have remained in the bank until the conference happened. We believe that it should be used, but that it should be accessible for paying expenses incurred by the international conference. We believe that it should be used, but we have reserves in kind. We need to know your opinion.

Basically, this was the idea of the disagreements. It was only in November that we knew something of you (San Francisco) by means of Enrique and Susan King who came to Mexico from San Francisco. Very few people

Love and Rage is created by a network of supporters who are in general agreement with the Love and Rage Political Statement and contribute time, money, and energy to Love and Rage. Major decisions and overall policy are made when all the supporters gather for a conference. Less major interim decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by an editorial council of people from many regions that meets several times a year in person and communicates by phone and mail. Day-to-day decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference and the editorial council) are made by a production group resident in New York City, where the paper is published. In some cities and regions, Love and Rage supporters have organized themselves to cooperate in support of the paper on the local level and they sometimes plug into the rest of the network through their group or collective. Other supporters work alone.

Most Love and Rage supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing Love and Rage. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in Love and Rage.

The Love and Rage support network is not a closed circle of friends. If you are in general agreement with the Political Statement and are comfortable pledging your time, energy or money to our joint effort, you can become part of the network and participate fully in the decision making process. Ask the person who sold or gave you the paper, or write to:

Love and Rage  
Box 3 Prince St. Station  
New York, NY 10012

### Editorial Council

Billy, Brooklyn NY  
Chris, Brooklyn NY  
Christopher Day, New York NY  
Darrell Gordon, Chicago IL  
Gustavo Rodriguez, Miami FL  
James, Knoxville TN  
Jessica, New York NY  
Jimmy, New Orleans LA  
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Rachel, Madison WI  
Roni, Los Angeles CA  
Sunshine Smith, Berkeley CA

### Production Group:

Wayne, Wendy, Rachel, Mike, Matt, Lisa, Leah, Kelly, Jessica, Jane, Gwendolyn, Gene, Geoffrey, Erica, Eric, Dave, Christopher, Chris, Chris, Bob, Bill.

### Translations:

Gustavo, Gene, Len, Alvaro.

Issue	Deadline	Publishing
May	April 8	April 22
June	May 6	May 20
July	May 27	June 10



tergenerational gap which we have hardly been able to deal with.

The absence of proposals. We know many anarchists, but no one dares to try proposing work bigger than that done by their individual groups. Coordination between groups is nonexistent. Now with the libertarian network, we are trying to deal with this problem, but we see that it is going to be a slowly developing process — differing concepts, work styles, levels of compromise and fields of interest make it very difficult to get together.

We realized that we aren't ready to deal with money. For a long time we thought that it was due to a lack of money that we couldn't make our projects work. Now that we have money and this has created disagreements, we see that the causes were deeper and that we have to deal with that. Some people have even proposed that we return the money to San Francisco to be done with these problems. Others propose that we have to grow, to resolve our problems or else we would give in to an involution, a step backwards. Now we have the experience of working with money, but we know how urgent it is to strengthen our work without money and to create connections (perhaps this might be enough) for the future movement in Mexico.

We need to have better communications with you, but *direct*. You can write to us at the box number, and consider any relationship with Ricardo Mestre as separate from us. Awaiting news from you.

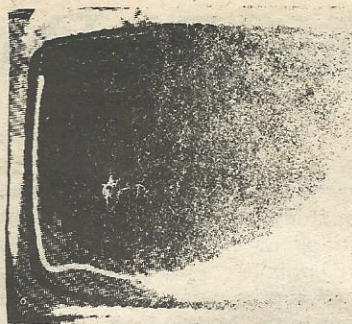
Ciao,  
Braulio Alfaro  
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## Tee Vee Party!

BY LYDIA HOWELL AND PAUL O'BANION

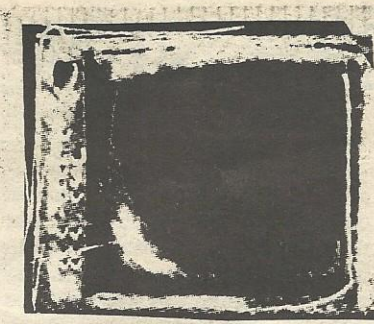
**A**BOUT ONE HUNDRED PEOPLE stormed Minneapolis' WCCO TV station during the 6 o'clock news February 26th. The event began with a rally at the Federal Building, sponsored by the Emergency Response Network (ERN). The ERN is a sometimes uneasy alliance of anarchists, Maoists, gays and lesbians, students and other solidarity activists and anti-imperialists.

About ten undercover cops, some with cameras, hovered around the crowd and filmed from parked cars. Several radicals in kaffiyas and bandannas confronted the cops and exposed them to the crowd. Once the undercover left, a march of 250 through the downtown area began. For security reasons, the destination of the march was known only to a small number. These individuals had



done extensive planning, including a successful ruse for getting into a locked side-door and obtaining a detailed floor plan to help gain access to the on-air studio.

Once the door was open, a first wave of 15 rushed the security guards, with another 80 or so close behind. Security guards and yuppie employees became violent, punching and shouting at people, while shoving others to the floor. For their part, the protestors were also quite manic, running up and down various halls, yelling and desperately trying to find the studio. When a small group actually made it to the studio doors, they found them locked. Those who had not seen the floor plan took this to mean it was time to retreat before



the police arrived.

Amidst the melee, a glass-door was kicked in. Demonstrators were surprised when a huge on-air studio window shattered due to their pounding. After the glass was broken, demonstrators moved back towards the exit, anticipating an imminent move by police to make arrests. Angered employees set up a make-shift barricade to keep the demonstrations from again attempting to get to the studio. A statement explaining the action was given to employees and was read over a bullhorn while still in the building.

In part the statement demanded that the media "give equal access to all different opinions on the war," and "stop mindlessly

regurgitating the information given to them by the Pentagon." The statement also invoked the Nuremberg Principles which they said state that "it is the obligation of all world citizens to oppose policies of their government when those policies seek the continued exploitation and/or genocide of other peoples."

The Nuremberg Principles were also invoked by an AWOL (an eco-anarchist group) speaker at a street theater demonstration called by the ERN March 2 in the fashionable Uptown shopping district. The speaker insisted anti-war protestors not only had a right, but a responsibility, to demonstrate against the Gulf War. AWOL then led the crowd in a singing of the National Anthem, while several members engaged in a display of what they "really feel about this fucking country, deep down inside," by puking on the sidewalk in red, white and blue. ERN members, dressed in costume, then put George Bush on trial for war crimes. People in the streets were invited to testify against him, which many did; the verdict — guilty. Bush was burned in effigy.

### Determination of Saddam

Dear Love and Rage,

I strongly disagree with Chris Day when he in the January issue of *Love and Rage* states that anarchists should show tactical support for the Iraqi army if and when the US lead forces invade Iraq. Day argues that in case of an invasion the Iraqi army can defend the population of Iraq and that they will defend self-determination of Iraq.

Firstly, history shows that when two armies clashes it is

always the civilians who suffer the most. That is also the fact in Iraq, a fact that even the mainstream media and Pentagon can't hide though they try to portray the war as a kind of computer game. The population of Iraq would probably be better off if "their" army laid down their arms all together! Secondly, it is also a fact that the Iraqi army is not defending self-determination, but "determination of Saddam," i.e., the people in power.

It is not the task of anarchists (as Day seems to think) to support

State sponsored armies under any circumstances. Not because we are pacifists (some are, some ain't). Most of us don't mind people taking up arms to defend their rights. But you've got to look at what they are fighting for and how they are organizing. The army of Iraq has no liberating aims, they are fighting for a national, "socialist" dictatorship and they are organized, like most armies, in a most authoritarian fashion. There is no need to side with them just because they are fighting "imperialism." Try siding

with the Arabian population and tell them they don't need no powerful leaders and their well equipped armies. And fight against your own leaders and their war with sabotage, direct action, etc. when there is no military parties to support in the Middle East right now!

Yours in anarchism,  
Peter Bach  
Editor of the Danish quarterly  
*Direkte Aktion*

# GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES

## LOVE AND RAGE ANARCHIST ORGANIZING CONFERENCE

Saturday, June 29- Monday, July 1

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Hey You! Come to the second annual **Love and Rage** conference. Every year there is a **L&R** conference at which supporters from across North America gather to discuss and evaluate the project, and to set the direction for the coming year. The Editorial Council, the between conference decision making body, is elected by the conference, and a new production facilitator is chosen for the Production Group for the next year. The conference this year will also include: issue workshops; regional meetings; changing of the **L&R** political statement; caucuses for womyn, queers, people of color, youth and others; discussion and development of action proposals; and more.

**Love and Rage** is a collective project, funded, written, produced, and distributed by a large and diverse group of revolutionary anarchists from across North America. Papers can be produced other ways, but the people involved believe very strongly that the project should reflect, as much as possible, the many different styles and ideas within North American revolutionary anarchism, and the best way to do that is to produce the paper through an open and participatory process.

You could stay at home the weekend of June 29th through July 1st and watch TV, or you could come to Minneapolis and help build a revolutionary anarchist political tendency. Love and Rage isn't perfect, but it never will be without the participation of the people who would like it to be.

See you in Minneapolis!

### REGISTRATION

If you are interested in attending the Love and Rage Organizing Conference, register now. We are asking for a sliding scale fee (based on your ability to pay) of between \$15 and \$60 to help cover the costs of the conference. Housing and some food will be provided. No one will be turned away for lack of funds.

Return this form to: Love and Rage Organizing Conference c/o  
RABL P.O. Box 10854, Minneapolis, MN 55458-3854 Make checks payable to RABL.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Local Group \_\_\_\_\_

Number of people coming (including you) \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help with the conference.

I will need childcare. I have the following special needs \_\_\_\_\_



# "MEET THE NEW WORLD ORDER . . ."

(Continued from cover)

care—there isn't a profusion of glee over the deaths, just silence. Contrary to Bush and his generals, the targets in Iraq were not largely military. The entire economic infrastructure of Iraq—bridges, water treatment plants, power stations, communications—was targeted for total destruction. And, of course, since people use and/or live near almost every imaginable economic target, civilians died by the thousands—as "collateral damage".

Back in the US, the flags and yellow ribbons are everywhere and there is a booming business in T-shirts that express, in varying tones, the willingness of the US to "kick some ass."

This macho swagger and resurgent patriotism, however, are a thin veneer over a much deeper sense of national impotence on the part of the ruling class. In political terms the US waged this war to maintain control over oil, and thus over the "power" of the industrialized world. But there was an even more valuable prize: the hearts and minds of the American people. This was a war to restore popular support for US military adventures abroad. This was a war against the Vietnam Syndrome.

"The Vietnam Syndrome" refers to the unwillingness of the American people to be dragged into another war like the one waged against Indochina—and thus the

ple are ready to fight a real war that costs lots of American lives, but they did create an atmosphere in which millions of people in the streets opposing the war could be called "traitors" and ignored. They created an atmosphere in which many people wouldn't even wear a button expressing their opposition to the war for fear of getting beaten up. By so effectively silencing public debate on the war the government was able to essentially control public opinion. Lots of people had a gut feeling that this war was wrong, but because they were told that there was hardly any opposition to the war they didn't feel free to raise their doubts and concerns, and they never heard the reasons to oppose the war.

## Support The Troops?

A major weapon in the propaganda campaign for the war was the call to "Support Our Troops." This slogan played on people's confusion and apprehensions about the war and it built on the right-wing myth that the war against Vietnam was fought "with one hand tied behind our backs" by popular opposition to the war (or liberal politicians in Congress). Of course that the war against Vietnam was a savage and genocidal conflict that took the lives of between 3 and 4.5 million Indochinese is seen as somehow incidental. The "Support Our Troops" campaign also manipulated people's legitimate outrage at the treatment of Viet-

and still face, stiff military penalties for their heroism. Those are the troops that needed—and need—our support.

Of course most of the soldiers sent to the Middle East were victims of the "poverty draft," they joined the military because it offered the only viable way out of a life of certain poverty. They joined to pay for school, or just because it was the only work they could get. However, just because we recognize the role of economic compulsion in forcing people into the military doesn't mean that "the troops" are absolved of their responsibility to refuse to participate in the slaughter. The troops in the Gulf were asked to commit atrocities against the people of Iraq. "I was just following orders" is not an acceptable defense. I would never wear a yellow ribbon for someone who was "just following orders." Just as civilians had a responsibility to organize opposition in the streets, soldiers had a responsibility to organize resistance in the ranks. However, none of us had the time to do all that we needed to do.

The movement against the Vietnam War learned painfully that it is wrong to greet returning troops with accusations that they are "baby killers." That wasn't because they didn't in fact kill babies—lots of babies—it was because they, knowing first hand the real nature of the war, were natural supporters of the anti-war movement. And in

know that the contradictions that gave us this most recent war have not been resolved. We know that the social systems that thrive on war, in particular the global system of nation-states, remains intact.

The US victory means the war is over, for now—there is an imperialist peace. The US has reim-

*"We have to ask ourselves if we are really indifferent to who won—particularly as the longer range consequences of this victory make themselves clear."*

posed its control in the Gulf, routing a local rival. We can expect the US to attempt to set up some sort of permanent military presence in the Gulf now. The Arab people will now have to wage a prolonged struggle to throw the US out.

There was debate within the anti-war movement, and within the pages of *Love and Rage*, about whether or not to support an Iraqi victory against a US invasion. It's a moot point now, but we have to ask ourselves if we are really indifferent to who won—particularly as the longer-range consequences of this victory make themselves clear.

Some people said that supporting Iraq's right to self-defense amounted to supporting Saddam Hussein's fascist police state. They said that we should support troops on both sides revolting against their officers. And they got half of what they wanted: the Iraqi army revolted en masse—they threw down their weapons and surrendered. They returned to Basra and launched an uprising. So far so good.

The US army did not revolt. In fact its standing in the world was bolstered considerably by the collapse of the Iraqi army. Militarily speaking, the US has a much freer rein than it has had in 15 years to impose its will on any country around the world. Don't think it won't. When George Bush announced the temporary cease-fire on television, 2/3 of the soldiers in the Enlisted Men's Club at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina rose to their feet, holding their beer mugs high, and chanted "On to the next one, On to the next one" for 10 minutes.

It is very rare that armies on both sides of a war will revolt simultaneously. Almost without exception, the army that is losing is the one that mutinies. For example, when a strike breaks out in one industry, I hope that it will spread to other industries, I hope that it will lead to a global general strike—but my analysis of how strikes usually go and my understanding that revolution is more complicated than that doesn't allow such hopes to obscure my vision of what is really possible in a given situation.

I would have liked to see the US army and the Iraqi army both revolt. But that didn't seem likely to happen. So, I wanted to see the US military get bogged down in Iraq. I wanted to see its morale collapse. I wanted to see its prestige destroyed. I wanted to see a decisive defeat of the US. All those things depended on the Iraqi

military putting up a serious resistance. It didn't happen, and the world is considerably worse off for it, too.

## Hussein and the Limits of Anti-Imperialism

A big part of the problem was Saddam Hussein and the occupation of Kuwait. Nobody wanted to defend either of these things. Not the anti-war movement (except a small group of perennial cheerleaders for "progressive" despots), not me, and not the Iraqi army. In addition to his past horrors, Hussein could have entirely prevented the slaughter of his people by withdrawing from Kuwait. Hussein is no one's friend.

However, the world is full of despots, many well-known to be supported by the US. The US ruling class chose this war well. The discussion between US ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie and Saddam Hussein prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait reads like a set up. It is clear that the powers that be understood that this war could be won in a fairly short period of time. They also knew that practically every other government in the Middle East had something to gain by having Hussein taken down a few pegs.

This was an imperialist war. It was a war led by the major imperialist power on the planet against the people of an historically oppressed nation. The real losers of the war are, of course, the people of Iraq. Like all such wars it involved a conflict between the aspirations of one section of capital (the Iraqi ruling class) and the interests of a larger and more powerful bloc of capital (led by the US ruling class). But from start to finish it was the rulers in the US who ran the show and it was the Iraqi people who paid with their lives by the thousands.

The military defeat and destruction of the US empire is a necessary condition for the authentic liberation of this planet from the totality of all authoritarian systems of domination. Traditional anti-colonial struggles have brought to power new ruling classes in their respective countries, but they have also tended to depend on a certain degree of popular empowerment, no matter how fleeting, to secure independence from the imperial powers. Even when that empowerment is rolled back, the people have the experience of some degree of revolutionary self-activity and that experience is a contribution to the overall project of human liberation. Further, they don't have the double burden of destroying not only their own ruling class, but also expelling an occupying army.

The whole history of anti-colonial struggles stands in opposition to the strategy of Saddam Hussein who set himself the task of defending what was both morally and militarily indefensible: the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. There wasn't a damn thing to be found in Hussein's strategy for taking on the US that spoke to any process of human liberation. The sound of Scuds hitting Israeli cities may have been encouraging to Palestinians living under a 24 hour curfew in the occupied territories, but to the rest of the world it revealed Hussein as the butcher he is, cynically attempting to manipulate the righteousness of the Palestinian cause, and killing Israelis to bolster his own political standing.

Hussein was rightly terrified at the prospect of any empowerment of the Iraqi people, who very well might quickly string him up if given

(Continued on page 12)



inability of the ruling class to do what it wants at every turn. Ever since the US defeat in Vietnam our rulers have sought to re-secure our support for their right to send us to wars we may not even understand. Through the 80s there was a slow but steady escalation in US military adventures from Lebanon to Grenada to Libya to Panama and now Iraq. These military actions were designed to work in concert to erode popular opposition to militarism and build popular support for a resurgent empire.

The war against Iraq successfully completed the mobilization of public opinion; and it proved that if the government successfully imposes military censorship, and makes the slaughter of thousands of people look like a video game, it can mobilize popular support for a six-week war in which very few Americans get killed. This would hardly seem like the end of the Vietnam Syndrome. But it is.

The Bush administration has not established that the American peo-

nam veterans by suggesting that it was the anti-war movement, and not the government, that is somehow responsible for the plight of Vietnam vets.

Many people who opposed the war fell for the "Support Our Troops" propaganda without realizing how wearing a yellow ribbon was falling in line with the government and actually an insulting betrayal of the troops. The sentiment of support reached a kind of hysteria level, and those who opposed the war had to choose to face potentially serious consequences for their moral decisions.

A more serious set of moral decisions faced the troops sent to the Middle East. Soldiers have a unique ability to stop a war by refusing to fight, by either dropping their weapons or by turning them around on their commanders. A minority of GIs had the courage to refuse orders and began the long hard process of organizing GI resistance. Those soldiers faced

fact, returning vets swelled the ranks of the anti-war movement then, and probably would have again if this recent war had lasted longer.

It is important that the civilian anti-war movement not be self-righteous. We should not expect soldiers to show greater moral courage than the rest of the population. But we should be clear on what we think is right. When the "peace is patriotic" crowd tells us to "love the warrior, hate the war" they are speaking gibberish—the warrior is waging the war, dropping bombs on people's homes, slaughtering people. We need to reply "love the resister, resist the war!"

## Imperialist Peace

The war is over. When the anti-war movement says "the war isn't over" we sound almost as if we relish the war. The bombs aren't dropping. The guns are, for the moment, silent. The war is over. However, we know that in the long run conflicts will erupt again. We



# BASH BACK: The Case Against Queer Non-Violence

The following article was presented to the Toronto chapter of Queer Nation as a position paper.

BY AN ANONYMOUS QUEER

"COMMUNITY SELF-CENSORSHIP has traditionally been our Faustian trade for progress. We relegated our drag queens and our leathermen and our dykes on bikes to the peripheries of the community and allowed the power-suited white boys to bargain with the man. We surrendered our bathhouses for AIDS public-service announcements. We let the police continue to raid the rest-stop men's rooms as long as we could have sensitivity training for cops. We remained unprotesting in the face of laws that criminalize our sexual lives and lobbied instead for simple civil rights. We barred Allen Ginsberg and the North American Man/Boy Love Association from the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center and then requested that the city forgive the Center's mortgage."

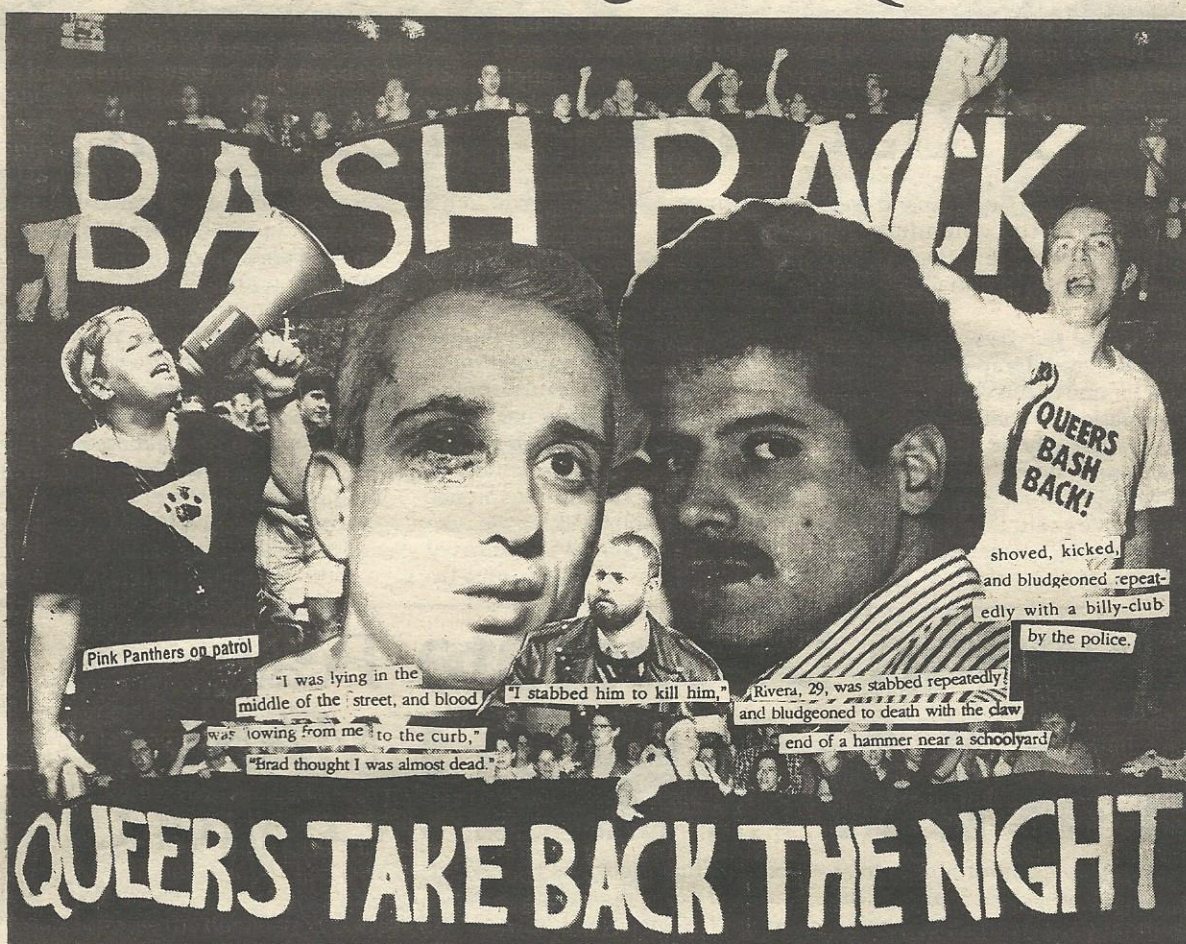
Nina Reyes,  
Outweek,  
August 16, 1990

At the meeting held on October 12, 1990, to discuss its mission statement, the general assembly of Queer Nation Toronto did something it had never done before. Up until then the general assembly had always bent over backwards to make sure that every issue presented before it got discussed as fully as possible before a vote was taken. But then and there, for the first time, someone in the general assembly moved that we vote to put the words "non-violent" in front of "direct action" at the end of the first clause of our mission statement without talking about it first. The vote carried. It was only after the fact—and too late for any discussion to play any part in the general assembly's decision—that one of the queers in the General Assembly asked if any of the people who were opposed to the inclusion of the words "non-violent" wanted to talk about the issue.

As one of those who voted against the inclusion of the words "non-violent," I have a great deal to say about the issue. And what I have to say I say anonymously because I want to draw attention to the issue and not to myself.

I object to the knee-jerk way it was taken for granted that the words "non-violent" should be included in the mission statement, as if there could be no question in anyone's mind that they should be there. It was a real coup d'état for the advocates of non-violent direct action. There are many kinds of direct action. But whatever side of the issue you come down on, to matter-of-factly dismiss out of hand other kinds of direct action just because you turn your nose up at them is no substitute for informed, intelligent and constructive discussion of the issue.

I think that "direct action" all by itself—just as it was in the original clause of the proposed mission statement—would have been fine. I think that the queers who voted for the words "non-violent" are totally out of touch with the realities of patriarchal oppression. I would rather have seen the words of Malcolm X, "by any means necessary," put there instead: those beautiful words of that beautiful man who was fed up with all the shit his people were taking and who knew that they weren't going to be polite and that they weren't going to take it anymore. Malcolm X understood the realities of oppression; sadly, my queer sisters and brothers who advocate non-violent direct action do not.



We always take the polite approach, following the establishment's prescribed guidelines for social change and, in so doing, we sacrifice our queer brothers and sisters on the altar of politeness. The above quote from Nina Reyes makes this very clear. We fight tooth and nail for every inch we gain in the establishment's political system—that's the establishment's political system, not ours—and for what? So that "respectable" (that is, bourgeois) queers can enjoy their privileged lifestyles unmolested, leaving our sisters and brothers who can't or won't fit into the mainstream completely out in the cold. Queer parliamentary politics is nothing more than a movement

**"No other community would have endured this violence without responding in kind." Do you know why? Because no other community would be that polite."**

on behalf of white, middle-class, masculine-identified men (like New Democrat Svend Robinson, the federal MP for Burnaby, B.C., who, on February 29, 1988, publicly announced that he was queer). If you don't believe me, then ask yourself this question: how many drag queens or queer sex-trade workers have you seen elected as members of Parliament lately (or ever)? Answer: None.

One of the biggest blind spots in any approach to fighting homophobia is the belief that somehow real change can be effected through the system, the old "changing the system from within" approach. Some people actually believe that we can defeat one set of oppressors—homophobic, queer-bashing scum—by joining forces with another set of oppressors—homophobic, queer-bashing cops. This is the whole

idea behind certain items listed in some of the written proposals brainstormed by queers in the first days of Queer Nation Toronto, namely that we form some kind of "community liaison" with the cops. All that means is that when the cops do a good job of "serving and protecting" white middle-class gay men, we'll zero in all the media attention on them and give them a public pat on the back for sticking up for queers, for proving that (no matter what those crazy radicals say) cops are all good people under the skin and they can change and defend the rights of queers just like queers are normal people. Meanwhile, our queer youth, our drag queens, our boy-lovers, queer sex-trade workers, queers of colour, queer street people, queer psychiatrized, and queers who have public and washroom sex will continue (along with wimmin, non-white, and other oppressed peoples) to get their heads bashed in and jailed by Toronto's finest. The words of Nina Reyes above about our willingness to sell out our sisters and brothers in return for "sensitivity training for cops" couldn't be more to the point. When will we ever learn that we cannot fight queer bashers with queer bashers?

Cops are our natural enemies and always have been. Historically, they are one of the state's (any state's) most effective instruments of sexual repression. And they are the natural enemies of all other oppressed peoples, too. I don't buy the line that says queer cops are any better. I remember seeing some CBC coverage of the crisis in Oka this summer. The response of the Mohawk warriors to the suggestion that the stand-off might benefit by having more Natives on the Quebec Provincial Police Force was that an Indian cop was still a cop. Even if it was possible (which it isn't) for queers to get totally absorbed into the mainstream so that we, too would "benefit" from the complete protection of establishment police, it would be at the cost of betraying every other oppressed people in this society.

Cops only exist in societies to enforce oppression (social, political, economic, class, racial, gender, sexual, etc.) and to defend the inequalities of the system. Instead of trying to rely on the homophobic establishments' cops we should tell them to fuck off and die and work on defending ourselves.

But instead of becoming self-reliant, instead of learning to defend ourselves, we trust in reformism and put hope for salvation in our (state-approved) Left. Give me a break! What "Left"? You mean fifty-seven varieties of Toronto marxists who (while advocating armed struggle everywhere else in the world) trip over themselves rushing to get state-approved permits for state-approved demonstrations and marches complete with state-approved police escorts? Don't make me laugh! The only social change this extremely polite form of Leftism will ever get us is state-approved social change, which is the same as saying no change at all. Even when we rebel against the establishment, our rebellion is often defined by the establishment. Rebellious acts, demonstrations with police permits, and so forth, tend to be acts of opposition to society. But they are seldom so radical that they actually change society. These acts are clichés of rebellion, safety valves created by patriarchy that don't change patriarchy. Even if they do make conservatives rant that society is crumbling, these kind of scripted insurrections haven't made it crumble yet, and, by themselves they aren't likely to. Anything less than a direct attack upon all the conditions of our lives is not enough!

The importance of challenging all the dominant institutions of the patriarchy, as queers, is beautifully articulated in the words of lesbian political prisoner Linda Evans, who is committed to building resistance to government and corporate crimes against people, and has helped build an underground movement as one part of the resistance necessary to make real changes in the world. She is one of six activists named in the Resistance Conspiracy Case in the US and charged with conspiring to overthrow the US government. She says that "We think that fighting the government and being lesbians are really intrinsic to each other... and that's the only way we're going to win liberation for ourselves and for other women and other lesbians..."

As people living in North America we constantly forget just how very privileged we are. Even our radicalism is privileged. The state gladly grants us permits for our marches and demos knowing full well that this will keep us happy, rebellious and privileged.

Meanwhile the oppression of people in Canada—Oka for example—relentlessly continues and it's business as usual. Nothing really changes. A change in government is a change in set directions. Now compare our privileged radicalism to what happens to radicals in third world parliamentary democracies like the Philippines: there radicals mysteriously "disappear" and are served up on platters to death squads.

Matt Foreman, director of the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, talking about the rise in queer-bashing in New York (in words equally applicable to Toronto) and quoted by Nina Reyes in the article from Outweek, says, "No other community would have endured this violence without responding in kind." Do you know why? Because no other community would be that polite. No other oppressed community would have settled for that kind of trade-off, leaving their members broken and bleeding in the street while attempting to deal with the situation by going through all the "proper channels."

The Pink Panthers of New York push community self-defense with the best of intentions which does not, however, end anti-queer violence. I can't help thinking what a far cry they are from the very people from whom they have appropriated their name: the Black Panthers, who, in contrast, pushed community self-arming, and when I hear our queer politicians talk, they seem to be saying to me, "the ballot or the kiss-in." I can't help thinking what a far cry that is from Malcolm X's words to his own people, "the ballot or the bullet." With homophobic laws, law enforcement, and a homophobic judicial system, none of which work to protect us in a homophobic society that also doesn't work, what choice is left to us other than that of defending ourselves against violence?

"Non-violent direct action" is now part of our mission statement and since it was the will of the majority of the general assembly of Queer Nation, it is not likely to change. But accentuating that fact still doesn't prevent us from talking about other kinds of direct action, especially when it comes down to defining exactly what "non-violent" means. It should mean not being the one to strike the first blow, but having the right to fight back when attacked. We should be allowed to defend ourselves "by any means necessary." We should insist that non-violence be restricted to actions against the human beings and that it not be applied to property. Property is the false god worshipped by our society. We are taught to treat everything as an object, including each other, and to value objects as much as, or more than human beings. Unfortunately, all too many queers let themselves be sucked into this kind of materialism. I say if we can't bash the basher, let's trash his car or spray-paint his storefront window. If you say, "no, we have to respect private property," then I say you care more about property, more about the object and you give it more respect than you do the sister or brother lying in a bloody pulp at your feet. Property is not living. An inanimate object, a material object is a dead thing, and it is impossible to do violence to something that is already dead.

So let's leave here today committed to give this issue the serious thought it deserves, making up our minds to come back to a future meeting prepared to have a truly open and uncensored discussion about it.



# Anarchist Black Cross

## WIMMIN PRISONERS' HUNGER STRIKE

**B**EGINNING MONDAY MORNING, March 4, 10 women held in the segregation unit of Kingston's Prison for Women (the only federal prison for wimmin in Canada) began a fast to the death as part of their struggle for survival and human rights inside the prison walls and to secure justice for their sisters everywhere. As one of them stated, "This may be a heavy price we wimmin may have to pay to resist our oppressors." Their hunger strike involved no food or water. Their fast ended on March

12th, when their first demand was met. Four of the wimmin were hospitalized, one with kidney failure. They all remain in segregation.

They had two basic demands:

- 1) To secure a temporary absence pass for one of the wimmin held in segregation so that she may visit her mother who is currently near death from cancer.
- 2) The establishment of an independent inquiry into the conditions of the prison for women and into the effects of the criminal just-us

system as a whole on wimmin's lives.

By "independent" the wimmin mean outside of "correctional services" and the solicitor-general, in fact, independent of the criminal (un)just system as it now exists.

The wimmin currently being held in segregation are held there as political prisoners—their punishment stems from their activity in the Feb. 6th, uprising, or resistance inside the prison walls. Those who made the resistance were primarily native wimmin; testimony in-

dicates that the brutal force used to put their uprising down (gas, dogs, and the emergency response team of cops) went beyond anything previously used on white wimmin involved in "riots." The resistance was motivated by the wimmin's anger over the hanging of the sixth Native womyn in 18 months within the prison. The prison bosses have responded by cutting all Native programs inside the prison, and by barring the Native elders trusted and needed by the wimmin.

Although the strike is over, the

wimmin will remain in segregation for at least 30 more days, according to prison authorities. The native programs may not be restarted. For more information contact *Through the Walls* (listed in the ABC directory). Letters of protest over the treatment of these prisoners and their being held in segregation can be sent to:

Warden  
P.O. Box 515  
Kingston, Ont.  
K7L 4W7, Canada

## Perotti's Situation Desperate



**J**OHAN PEROTTI, AN ANARCHIST prisoner and organizer for the IWW, began a hunger strike on Jan. 30. Folks who have been reading the ABC page in past issues of *Love and Rage* have seen the ongoing "updates" on John's situation. Unfortunately, the situation has gotten continually worse.

John has been held in isolation for over 30 months, his mail doesn't get through to him, and his visiting "privileges" come and go at the whim of the warden. A few weeks into his hunger strike, worn down by the isolation and constant harassment, John cut his wrists. He was moved by the prison to a state mental hospital. Although a prisoner at the hospital, John's situation changed radically for the three days he was there. He was

allowed to walk the grounds, dress in street clothes, eat real food (he went off his strike while there) and visit, uninterrupted, for hours with his partner.

After three days it was decided by hospital authorities that John was of no "threat" to himself or others. He was put in a cell and transferred immediately back to the prison. Placed back in complete isolation, in a strip cell, John cut his wrists again. The prison has no intention of sending him back to the hospital. They will keep him in isolation indefinitely.

We have to intervene. The warden is feeling a bit of pressure from the letters and telegrams he has received demanding that John be removed from isolation. We have to squeeze this guy. Lots more letters, calls, faxes, etc. are needed,

both to the director of the Department of Corrections and the Governor. No one can hang on by themselves forever. John does get some of his mail, letters of support can be sent to:

John Perotti  
#167712

Lebanon Correctional Facility  
P.O. Box 56  
Lebanon, OH 45036

To contact the Governor and Warden:

Governor Voinovich  
77 S. High St. Statehouse  
Columbus, OH 43215  
tel.: (614) 466-3555  
and  
George Wilson, Director  
Dept. of Rehabilitation  
and Corrections  
1050 Freeway Drive, North  
Columbus, OH 43229

## Beating in MANCI Control Unit

BY JOHN PEROTTI

**O**N FEBRUARY 8, 1991, IN the super-maximum administrative control unit (AC-Isolation) at the Mansfield Correctional Institution (MANCI) in Ohio, a high tech prison, designed after the US Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, 35 guards and high ranking prison officials cuffed six prisoners behind their backs, and then entered their cells, beating each prisoner with their fists, boots, and clubs. Two prisoners kicked the their cell doors off the hinges, but were restrained. These beatings were unnecessary and excessive. The prisoners beaten were: Eric "Sudan" Swafford #178862, Mike Woods #152543, K. Patton #R132770, Ike Thompson #156151, Clay #216762, and Eugene Adams #144736. Adams was beaten so badly he required numerous stitches to his head. The beds and all the prisoners' belongings were then removed from their cells and these men were forced to sleep naked on the floor with only a thin plastic mattress.

In sheer frustration of their situa-

tion, the prisoners have started a death fast, begun on February 9, 1991. They will not eat until: an investigation is started concerning the beatings, they receive proper medical treatment, their beds and property are returned, and warm clothes are issued to them. Other demands are to be announced. They request that outside groups call the prison and write letters to protest their conditions and monitor their situations. Letters of protest should be sent to:

Warden Daalberg  
MANCI  
P.O. Box 1638  
Mansfield, OH 44901

## Friends of Liberty

**F**RIENDS OF LIBERTY IS AN anti-authoritarian "free association," focusing on prisoner support in Seattle, Washington.

Currently they are working against the Marion lockdown and the construction of a prison in Florence, Colorado. They want to get in touch with individuals out there who are working with prisoners, or on prison issues. Their address is on the contact list.

(Continued from page 10)

lective within the larger social movements. It means a commitment to struggle inside the group around the many personal and political issues that are bound to arise in a highly committed group.

In particular, it means a commitment to struggle around sexism, ageism, racism, homophobia and class divisions within the group. Men must be committed to seriously confronting how they have been trained by a sexist society and to figuring it out without depending on women to do it for them. Everybody must be committed to facing what will inevitably be long, difficult and sometimes painful discussions of these questions.

When some people in a group are committed to this level of struggle and others are not it leads to problems. The processes involved here often require a great deal of personal trust. They involve a ruthless honesty and a self-critical perspective that are impossible to maintain without that trust. Of course a political collective has a responsibility to new members not to force them into such intense situations until they feel some of that trust. Trust is developed over time.

What this usually ends out meaning is that the collective can feel a bit like a roller coaster sometimes. The group slowly builds itself up, bringing in new people one at a time and developing real bonds of trust. But at a certain point, a number of unresolved contradictions come forward. One person dominates meetings. Other people aren't following through on commitments. The men tend to interrupt the women. Older members disregard the suggestions of younger members. As soon as one

of these questions is broached the others pour out. The roller coaster is plummeting down the incline.

Over time the collective develops ways of bringing forward these discussions in ways that don't disrupt everything else the group is doing or drive lots of people out of the group. But the intense periods of struggle often have a very revolutionary character: the group is in the process of overthrowing the old order that has reproduced itself within the group and replacing it with a different, hopefully better, set of relations. There is no way to make such a process easy or predictable.

### Collectivity and Individual Initiative

There has to be a dynamic tension between the collective and the individual if the collective is to really aid in building a revolutionary anarchist movement. Many anarchists are such die-hard individualists that they find it practically impossible to work collectively, to participate in the give and take that is involved in making a group work. On the other hand, unlike the authoritarian left, we don't see it as virtuous for people to subsume their individual identity into some abstract collective identity, whether that is the identity of the political collective or a social construction of gender, class or nationality. The purpose of the collective is to empower people to transform the world. For some people the collective will give them the support to take initiative in a way that they never could before. For people who already feel comfortable taking the initiative, the collective allows them to be more effective by working with others. For some the collective is a place where they will be challenged on

how their "individualism" is built on the oppression of others.

Working collectively allows a group to be "more than the sum of its parts." There are lots of things that ten people working collectively can get done that ten people engaged in individual activity would never get done. But for those ten people to work together they need to be able to make compromises. Not everybody can get their way every time. There are some people who see a "tyranny of the majority" in every collective decision they disagree with, who see a great compromise in their freedom if working in a group means not doing whatever they want to when they want to. I will leave it to others to discuss whether such personality traits are "anarchist." They are clearly at odds with any functioning collectivity, and therefore at odds with doing the things only a collective can do. Things I think are essential if we hope to create an anarchist society.

The collective is a place where an individual can be a part of things that would otherwise be impossible. But a collective demands more than just acknowledging the rights of others, it means respecting them and believing in their capacity to contribute to the collective process. It means making compromises and learning how to work together. There is a rich body of historical experiences to draw on in developing an authentic anarchist collectivity.

In my next article I will address some of the more specific features of a local anti-authoritarian collective. In particular I will address questions of feminist process, internal democracy and the practical steps involved in starting a collective.

## CONTACTS

To learn more about political prisoners, prisoners of war and prisons in North America write to any or all of the following groups:

Anarchist Black Cross  
Toronto  
P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A  
Toronto, Ont, M5W 1P7  
Canada

Anarchist Black Cross  
Vancouver  
P.O. Box 2881  
Vancouver, B.C.,  
V6B 3X4  
Canada

Anarchist Black Cross  
New York  
P.O. Box 20521,  
Tompkins Sq. Stn.  
New York, NY 10009

Anarchist Black Cross  
San Lorenzo  
P.O. Box 215  
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Prisoners' Legal News  
P.O. Box 1684  
Lake Worth, FL 33460

Through the Walls  
472 Albert St.  
Kingston, Ont.  
Canada K7L 3W3

Friends of Liberty  
Box 95686  
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

Bulldozer  
P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A  
Toronto, Ont, M5W 1W4  
Canada

Leonard Peltier  
Defense Committee  
P.O. Box 583  
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to End the Marion  
Lockdown  
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607  
Chicago, IL 60604

Project 1313  
P.O. Box 1313  
Lawrence, KS 66044

Wimmin Prisoner  
Support Network  
P.O. Box 770, Stn. P  
Toronto, Ont, M5S 2Z1  
Canada

Anarchist Black Cross  
Latino Americana  
P.O. Box 45-1208  
Miami, FL 33245



# On Gogol Boulevard

## Int'l Syndicalist Conference

ON NOVEMBER 1-4, 1990, representatives of 35 trade unions and libertarian organizations from around the whole world gathered in Stockholm for an international conference. More than 50 foreign guests from 19 countries and 28 Local Federations (LS) of the Central Organization of Swedish Workers (SAC) attended. SAC organized and hosted the conference.

The international participants represented a broad selection of organizations. Both anarcho-syndicalists and radical trade unions in general met in an open and rewarding discussion that hopefully will result in contacts and future cooperation. The conference laid the foundation for a future network that may become of a decisive nature for future cross-border cooperation.

As we expected, a lot of connections were made outside of the prepared agenda of the conference. The Latin American participants arranged their own meeting on Latin American cooperation. They decided to meet again—first in Bolivia in February of 1992, says SAC's international secretary, Annika Hjelm.

The idea of the conference was not to make common decisions, but rather to exchange ideas and experiences between people from Africa, Asia, USA, USSR, East and West Europe and Latin America. If the Australian syndicalists hadn't been forced to stay home, all continents of the world would have been represented.

During the conference the following topics were on the program: the internationalization of capital, our natural and occupational environment, repression, and the future of revolutionary syndicalism.

Views, experiences, basic situations and requirements were shown to be very different. This led to exciting and rewarding debates. Something that united many of the participants was the common concern for the renewal of the role of the trade-unions. However, there were different opinions on how to do this.

Jose Maris Olaizola from the Spanish CGT (General Confederation of Labor) advocated that the trade unions must be broadened and also go outside of the workplaces. It was also deemed desirable to strive to lessen the conflict between the producing and the consuming human being.

Other delegates, among others Martin Howard from *Black Flag* and Jorge Quesada Linan, chairman of the Peruvian Mineworkers Union, FNMMS, emphasized the importance of strengthening the trade-

unions in the workplace.

Octavio Alberola, who has a long history of struggle within the working movement, both in Europe and Latin America (at this conference as a lecturer from CECAME), spoke about the importance of creating solidarity and cooperation among all workers across all kinds of borders. He also emphasized the necessity to keep all sectarianism outside the workers' movement.

There was a discussion of how to react to violence, initiated by Olga Petrova from the Soviet KAS, the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (USSR), on the topic of "Repression."

### International Bulletin

During the last day's seminars, suggestions that had come up during the conference were discussed.

One of these suggestions was to create an international bulletin. This bulletin is to be produced in English and Spanish, and to contain information about the development of the movements in various countries rather than debates and discussions. Each movement will be responsible for their own contributions to this bulletin. The conference approved this proposal.

The Syndicat des Correcteurs (CGT) in Paris is considering publishing the bulletin. Martin Nilsson from the Swedish SAC is responsible for finding an alternative if the CGT will not be able to handle the publishing. It was also decided that each organization would investigate financially supporting the bulletin.

### New Networks and Common Statements

The French UTCL (Union of Libertarian Communist Workers) are to put together a yearbook with addresses and names of organizations to increase the cooperation across the borders.

The conference delegates endorsed two statements of protest. One protest was directed against the imprisonment of Crispin Beltran, chairman of the Philippine central trade union organization, KMU (May 1st Movement). He was arrested on October 30 on a television talk show. The arrest was ordered shortly after the beginning of a general strike, for which the Aquino government threatened to ban KMU.

The second protest was directed to the Soviet authority persecutions of the Ukrainian Sotsprof trade union. If you want to have more information from the conference you can order a magazine that will be put together by SAC.

### Greetings from Other Organizations

A number of greetings also came

from organizations that couldn't participate. These were:

Centros de estudios Libertos-Portugal; Libertarian Labor Review-USA; La Revolution Proletarienne-France; National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW)-Philippines; Anarchist Media Institute-Australia; Base-Fut-Portugal; ASO (Anarcho-Syndicalist Organization)-IAA-Denmark; USI-AIT (Italian Syndicalist Union)-Italy; KMU-Philippines; CAS (Czech Anarchist Union)-Czechoslovakia; CX-GT (Central Confederation of Galician Workers)-Galicia, Spain; Sicilia Libertaria-Sicily, Italy; Corriente Nacional Patria Libre-Argentina, Rahe Kagar-Iran; Class War-England; FAM (Federation of Anarchistic Youth)-Sofia, Bulgaria; Federacion de Los Comunistas Anarquistas Italianos-Italy; Peronismo de Las Bases-Argentina; Coordination Council of Trade Union of Ecologists of the USSR. Two organizations got lost on their way to the International Conference. Those were: the Ceylon Workers Congress-Sri Lanka, and the Confederation of Labor-USSR.

Finally the conference made a statement:

### To the Working People of the World

This message is full of hope and anguish. Anguish for all the threats that hang over humanity, especially the ones caused by the domination and exploitation of classes and regions in countries. We affirm with indignation that all systems of east, west, north, and south are deeply inhuman. If it continues like this, the future can only be a catastrophe.

The world is threatened by the poisoning of the natural environment, by starvation and diseases. We fear a future of military dictatorships, police regimes, nuclear wars, and widely spread violence.

The solidarity that this conference has made possible strengthens our will of resistance and our determination to create radical alternatives to the present order: independent and militant trade unions.

The perspective of worldwide solidarity to organize resistance gives hope. This could satisfy the thirst and hunger for freedom, autonomy and justice of human beings.

For these reasons we appeal to working people to take back the aims of emancipation that existed in the early social movements. Now revolutionary syndicalism—the independent union movement—emerges as an answer to the oppression imposed by capitalism and the structures of state.

We, the working people, must organize to awake, sustain, and encourage this hope. We must become masters of our destiny.

### Signers of the Statement

Grupo de Trabajo Sindical-GTS COB (Bolivia), Union of Bulgarian Anarchosyndicalist Clubs (Bulgaria), Centro de Estudios Sindicales "Clotario Brest" (Chile), Federacion Nacional de Cooperativas de Vivienda y Servicios Habitacionales (Chile), Hull Syndicalists Offshore Industries Liaison Committee (England), Black Flag magazine (England), CESAME (France), The Gambia Trade Union Congress (Gambia), FAU Ost (East Germany), IUG (East Germany), Wildcat (West Germany), Anarcho-Syndicalistische Organization Sofia (West Germany), Sindicato de Trabajadores del Banco Guatemala (Guatemala), OVB (Holland), Associazione Ferroviari "Cecare Pozzo" (Italy), COMU (Italy), Anarchist Federation of Japan (Japan), COSI (Paraguay), Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros, Metalurgicos y Siderurgicos del Peru de CGTP (Peru), CGT (Spain), Korean Federation of Anarchists (South Korea), Taegu Women's Trade Union (South Korea), SAC (Sweden), AUDA (Uruguay), Comunidad del Sur (Uruguay), Uruguayan Anarchist Federation (Uruguay), IWW (USA), Confederation of Indepen-

dent Trade Unions of Zaporzie (USSR), Socialist Professional Unions of Ukraine Amalgamated (USSR), Solidarity Trade Union of Ukraine (USSR), KAS-Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (USSR).

This report is from SAC Newsletter #3, 1990. For further information contact:

SAC—Central Organization of Swedish Workers  
Sveavagen 98 113 50 Stockholm  
Sweden

Tel.: + 46 8 673 35 59

Fax.: + 46 8 673 03 45

KAS CONFERENCE PLEA: The Soviet Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists held an international conference in Leningrad March 16-18. OGB was unable to send anyone. For anyone out there who went, please send us a write-up on the meeting and any photos you may have, so we can publish an account of this historic event. Thanks.

## Bulgarian Anarchist Youth

HELLO DEAR BROTHER and Sister Anarchists!!! We are the Federation of Anarchistic Youth from Bulgaria. In Bulgaria there are two mass organizations of anarchists—FAM (our organization—Federatsia na Anarhistichnata Mladej) and FAB (Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria). There is something of a group of anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-pacifists in Plovdiv. FAM has about a 100 members and sympathizers (50-50). FAB has about 400 members, mainly veteran anarchists who have passed from fascist concentration camps to Communist concentration camps.

In 1990 the magazine *Free Thought/Svobodnoe Misae*, the first legal anarchist magazine after 1947, was published. FAM was participating in street actions in the months of June-August in Sofia: street blockades and barricades, protesting in tent camps on the President Square, etc. Now we are in the process of organization. We are a young organization—our founding meeting was on June 22. Our enemy No. 1 remains the Marxists. We suppose that soon we shall have serious enemies in the face of different nationalistic, monarchistic, and conservative religious parties. With the democratic movements and organizations we have a tacit coalition now. But we suppose that they first shall start the "war" against us (we hope not to the letter).

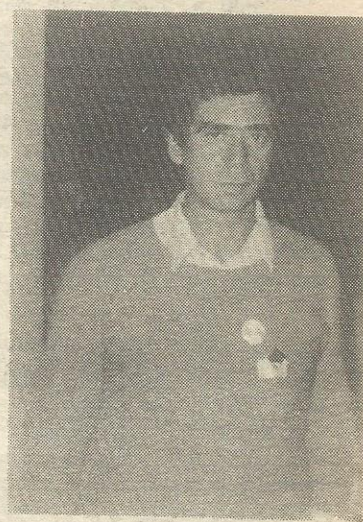
It shall be interesting for us to know something about your organization and your way of life. What kind of books and magazines you read, what magazines you edit. In general we want to know everything about you as people and anarchists. Our last two actions were a protest funeral march on November 7 against Marxist rule then and now and a demonstration in front of the Soviet embassy after the "Bloody Sunday" in Vilnius. Your pretty and useful *OGB* we got from Roman Laube of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Union. We translated it into Bulgarian. And we send you numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 of *Free Thought* (practically it's a newspaper of FAB, but the third page of the third issue is about our FAM). The first one is partially translated into English.\*

That's all now. Our address is:

Federation of Anarchistic Youth  
Todor Riznikoff  
Tr. Kostov No. 4 ET. 4  
Sofia, Bulgaria

Your friends: Georgi, Micky, Bobby, Nicola, Konstantin, Mariola and all from FAM.

\*For the 16 pages of these translations send \$3.00 cash to On Gogol Boulevard, c/o Bob McGlynn, 528 5th st., Bklyn NY, 11215, USA



Laszlo Vit of East-West Information and Communication Network

## New East/West Ecology Center

THE EAST-WEST INFORMATION and Communication Network has been established in Budapest, Hungary, at the initiative of Laszlo Vit of the Danube Circle. (The Danube Circle successfully fought the introduction of a dam on the Danube.)

The Network plans to establish *Eco-Letters*. *Eco-Letters* will be in English, and initial plans are for it to come out six times a year. The main emphasis will be on ecology problems and solutions in the East and how political/social/economic factors influence ecology and environmental policy, news of Eastern Green movements, links between Eastern local and global problems, alternative philosophies, etc. Along with being a tool for Easterners, the additional purpose of *Eco-Letters* will be to inform Western Greens and alternativists of Eastern news, plus to influence Western governments in giving ecologically sound aid. It's hoped the newsletter will be useful in forging activist ties between East and West ecologists.

According to the Network's project description: "The medias are full of contradictory conceptions subordinated to different parties interests. The people who are neutral or have alternative notions are closed out from the newspapers."

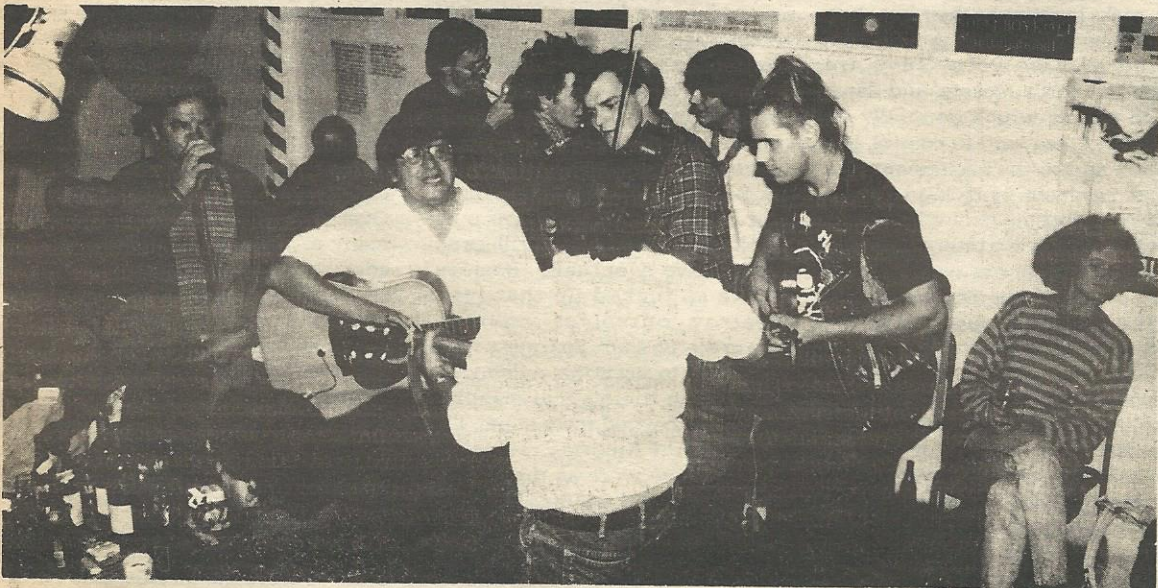
"Contrary to the general conception, these terrible social, economic, and environmental problems are the legacy not only of the former Communist era or the one party system, but also the consequence of destructive industrialization policy and agricultural management, and cannot be changed only to copy the Western democracies."

"The governments' myopic, short term policies, and the official organizations' bureaucratic methods subordinate environmental problems to economic and political questions. Our experiences show that the most desirable long-term conceptions and solutions come from different non-governmental organizations and independent individuals."

"To avoid the East-West relations leading to a new colonization period, we have to pay attention to the debt crisis, the economic aid problem (which forms of aid), and the import of old technologies (and ideas)."

The Network seeks subscribers, equipment, grants, co-editors, translators, and publications willing to reprint *Eco-Letters* reports:

East-West Information and Communication Network  
1144 Budapest  
Furedi St. 19/a,  
Hungary  
Tel.: 361-137-2987



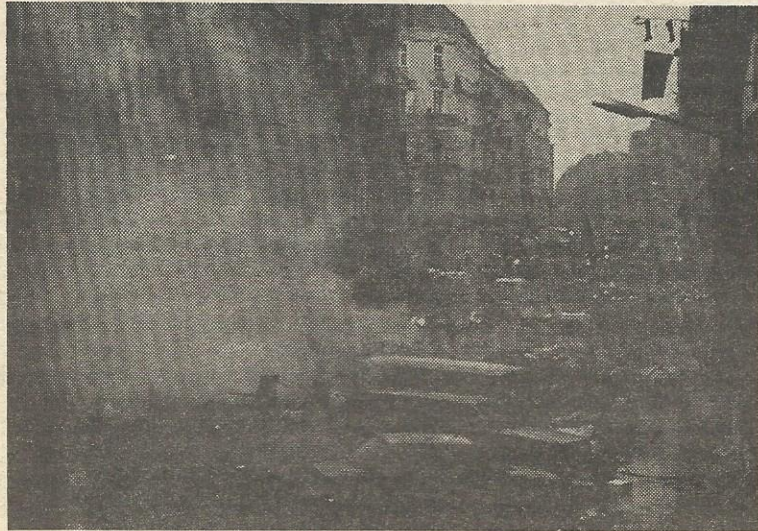
Jam session at SAC conference.



# Letter from the Berlin Squats

Last November there were pitched battles between police and squatters in Berlin (see Love and Rage January 1991). Jeremy Warsaw, from Berkeley, California, was there. The text that follows is a letter he sent to friends back home. It was written in two parts. The first is dated Monday, November 12, 1990, the second is dated Thursday, November 15, 1990.

**B**ILLIE, ET AL.: I'M IN BERLIN now, after a quick week in New York and Massachusetts with Martha and my brother. After some difficulty, I was able to locate Andrei R. at a large squat in Kreuzberg on Lubinestrasse. It houses up



to 60 people in two buildings, joined by a crude suspension bridge swaying four flights above the ground. Also living there is Andrei S., who's been very friendly, and a Canadian woman he's been seeing.

The squatters here are not real friendly in general. As one foreigner put it, "Berlin is cold in nearly every aspect." They do, however, speak some English, so we are able to communicate.

Last night a few of us came to Mainzerstrasse, in East Berlin, to hang out at a gay bar in one of the squats. There are over 130 squats in East Berlin, while only a few remain in West Berlin, like the one I'm in. Many of the graffiti covered squats host small basement bars, where people come to drink and smoke, smoke, smoke, while listening to American rap music. There are 12 squats in a row on Mainzerstrasse, an impressive row of 5 story buildings draped with political flags and banners. Here there are a few bars, a cafe/information center, anarchist bookstore, etc.

The squatters are mainly from W. Berlin and, as those few of you who've been to Berlin before know, they are extremely punkish in dress, hair-style, jewelry. Even they speak of the "uniform"—black boots, black pants or tights, an amalgam of sweaters (dark, ripped), covered by an abused black leather jacket, Kaffiya wrapped around the neck, shaved head, or short dyed hair or short or long dreadlocks which may also be dyed. Of course I feel very unhip in my blue jeans and bright red jacket, a condition exacerbated by my inability to share their lifestyle of endless smoking, of partying until 6am, sleeping 'till noon (the sun sets at 4:15).

In any case a most extraordinary situation has arisen, in which I find myself utterly engrossed. Seems this morning the police evicted three squats around the corner from Mainzer Str. (There used to be a pretty big difference between the East and West German police with the edge in brutality, severity, aggression, viciousness going to the West Germans. One story I've heard is illuminating: last year the East German cops came to evict a women's squat. After kicking

everybody out, they locked the doors and stood in front of the building. Unbeknownst to them, there was a roof entrance and most of the women just went around the back to the roof and reoccupied their home. Once inside they made a sign saying: "Police 1, Squatters 1" and held it out of the window. The police just watched, then went away. They had been ordered to take the squat just once, not twice, you see, so they had left. Of course since reunification (the way a tiger reunites with its prey) the East German police, like the military, is being phased out, eliminated.)

Well, back in Kreuzberg someone gave us the news, telling us to go to

Mainzer Str. to help defend it. When we got there, there were a few hundred people in the streets, autonomen style—black masks covering the face. At one end of the street, large trash bags were commandeered from a construction site and the corner was barricaded. At the other corner, a "T" intersection, small barricades were made from whatever was handy: trash, rubble, wood, etc. Meanwhile, the police blocked one intersection, but stayed back a few blocks at the other two. Sitting in the street was de Panzer—a large green monster tank, with a bulldozer ramming blade in front. Behind it, languished a water cannon, an even larger solid steel truck with powerful, high-pressure water cannons mounted on top. Behind this sat around 10 police vans, each holding 10 or 15 riot police.

From all accounts these boys are BAD. They're all about 6'3" or 6'4", young—21, 22, 23, in shape, martial arts, etc.

In any case, for a long time no one knew whether the police would attack. We milled around, built barricades, began tearing up the cobblestone sidewalks, which broke down into nice, palm-sized throwing stones.

It was pretty clear that the police had not planned on evicting the squats at Mainzerstrasse, and at this point I think they felt they had accomplished the morning's task in the earlier evictions. Now, of course, the matter had become more complex. Were the cops willing to back down to face a far more serious threat—the loss of the streets to the people?

Almost the whole Lubbi squat was there and we held a meeting to decide what to do. Of course, we absolutely had to protect the squats because we all knew, if we can't stop them at Mainzerstrasse, we couldn't stop them anywhere. To this end, baskets of rocks were dragged upstairs, placed on all the balconies. First we chose to stay inside, but once the people who lived inside this squat told us they had chosen not to throw rocks, we took to the street.

And arrived just in time to meet a contingent of West German's fin-

est, each carrying a large plexiglass shield. They weren't attacking, just trying to secure an intersection away from Mainzer.

Well, tentatively at first, a few rocks were tossed, and amidst chanting of "Cops out!", we began barraging the cops, forcing them off the street.

Shooting. Tear gas! White smoke wafting up, peppery taste in mouth, but not so bad. Scramble up into a squat as water cannon comes through. From the balconies and the rooftops a deluge of rocks and bottles, bouncing harmlessly off the cannon, but holding off the riot squad who, again, are driven back. A loud cheer bursts out as a molotov explodes—a direct hit—and the top of the green cannon is in flames. All too briefly though, and it seems even fire bombs are ineffective against such machinery.

What is effective? Barricades—large ones. Trenches in the street, huge piles of dirt and rubbish. And so the work begins and continues all night.

By the time of the next attack hours later, there are huge barricades at either end of the Strasse, large trenches, turned over cars, even, get this, an enormous tractor is commandeered from a local construction site around the corner and put to good use, driven awkwardly at first and then more skillfully by a masked anarchist, driven until exhaustion (man or machine I don't know) and then too, it becomes a barricade.

And now the wait. Will they attack? Or rather, when? I suspect the attack will be in the morning, when the cops are rested; when they can see better. We eat, shit, listen to the radio. The hardcore Lubbi folks do not build barricades. They do amass rocks, and petrol. The rumble of the cannon and the Panzer's diesel engine can be heard before seen and sure enough the police are back, 8:00 pm, 9:00, who knows. Most take to the streets, I to the roof to join 5 or 6 others with our cadre. To watch, up the street, as the cannon battles the autonomen! It circles the block, comes by, blasts water (laced with CS), police in vans fire cannisters of gas, which spark as they fly, explode in the air, and dance on the ground spewing the noxious fumes, are chased down and lobbed back at the cops, much like the footage from the sixties we've seen.

A muni-train is stopped and disabled, nicely sending off this particular entrance. Police loudspeakers feebly inform us that the Mainzerstrasse squats are not being evicted, they just want to open the streets.

And later, they attack again, on the other entrance, and it's our turn, on the roofs, to lob hundreds of stones, tiles from the roof, bricks from chimneys at the rows of cops, huddled together in a tight green formation, overlapping shields raised, rocks bursting at their feet, over their heads, one goes down! Is injured and we yelp! Guys are shooting bottle rockets, and flares from pistols which generally do overshoot, are hard to control, but which add to the excitement, the cops' paranoia, with loud bangs, whistles, flashing reds, whites, and greens. The police return fire with grenades of tear gas usually whistling overhead but may get caught in the rain gutter just below, enshrouding us in the fog. Too much, eyes burning, lungs and throat scalding; can't take it, must go inside. Also scared of getting hit by cannister—can be lethal if taken in the head, and already a couple have whizzed by within a couple of feet. (They are generally slow enough to dodge, with quick reflexes, as they spew sparks in flight.)

I go in, down to the kitchen on the floor below and it's surreal. I'm sweaty, masked, eyes burning, battle weary and its quiet, warm, clear. Respite, then to the roof again. Still the Panzer has not broken through the first barricade—Manzer is ours.

Now a few "mollies" are lobbed from the roof and the hundreds in the street cheer as the Panzer is set on fire, takes a minute for the water cannon to turn its hoses and squelch the flames. A louder cheer as another mollie, well aimed, sails end over end into a line of quickly fleeing cops, but not quick enough as the flames dance up the back of a cop for a split second, but he appears OK.

Now down to the streets to find friends, as the cops have given up on this barricade and are trying to burst through an alley on top of an apartment building. They too are stoned back, but not without cost, as they throw rocks too—and most of us are not wearing helmets or padding, other than leather jackets and maybe pants.

Finally the police leave! A liquor store had been looted and a few other shops' windows were broken.

Exhausted, we return to Lub- bistrasse to sleep.

The next morning we return to let daylight show us what we have created: Barricades tough, deep on 3 or 4 blocks, rubble everywhere, stones littering the streets, dumpsters overturned, everything grey-brown, a burnt-out car on one street, upturned cars on others blocking the roads. Locals and the curious wander slowly through Mainzerstrasse, eyeing the damage, the creation. Large piles of spent tear-gas cannisters dot the roads. To me it looks like a revolution, like the streets in Paris in '68 must have appeared. Theirs is the same energy, but perhaps the Germans are a bit too experienced, cynical, jaded to fully share that same spirit, that feeling of creating a new society, the dream of the impossible that sparked the students in France. More fatalistic—day at a time attitude, but still there is a pride—we've saved the squats for now—no symbolic victory—like our shantytown, but survival—the homes of maybe 2-300 people—and it's cold now, in November, with winter just beginning. And too, there is that feeling of being in a liberated territory—it's ours, no cops, no state—and the work goes on, barbed wire barricades being built on the roof, planning meetings for tomorrow's demonstration about the eviction, etc. So, for now the mood here is: we've won a battle, a significant battle, but not the war.

A few general comments, when thinking about demos in Germany versus the US:

Here is an episode where violence is effective, has instrumental value. Without rocks, the squats would have been destroyed. Moreover, they are fighting for something sustainable, a community. They live here—there is no such talk of outside agitators. 1400 police, well trained and armed, were beaten back by maybe 1000 of us. Seldom do we riot in our homes, our communities. So if we push back the cops we will still (probably) leave eventually. Besides, we're so fucked up that we'll destroy ourselves anyway, like in the '85 sit-in. So I guess what I'm trying to say is that militancy is best when there's real meaning behind it, beyond mere anger, like our Central America rallies. Of course if we were as united and militant as the Germans, things would be different.

For here there is no debate over violence. Raise up a rock and no

Peace Police-man or -woman jumps in your face, stops you from acting. When only a few are militant they can be picked out; when the whole crowd is, you're safer and stronger.

Control the air—key to modern combat. We did, and it was very crucial in our victory. The cops must look up at us, rather than down on the street, so they're really slowed down.

The police here are totally different than ours. They don't go charging into the crowd, splitting us up. They use gas, water. And they're more patient. If we were as violent in demos in the US we'd be shot. Hmm.

The streets here may have survived the Allied bombing in WWII, but not the onslaught of anarchists. There is a nearly inexhaustible supply of ammo right at hand (or should I say, feet?) Major factor.

Well, I'm tired, so I'll end here, with more to follow later. It's almost dark, so we'll see what comes tonight.

On the streets!  
Love,  
Jeremy



November 15, 8:15 pm

Mood here extremely tense. Mainzerstrasse fell yesterday morning; and the police are attacking other squats now. A few more evicted this morning and now the cops are apparently preparing an assault on Kreutzigerstrasse, the street adjacent to Mainzer with only a few less squats (7 to Mainzer's 12). From what it seems, if Mainzer was the heart of East Berlin's squatter movement, Kreutziger may be the lungs.

Much has happened in the last day and a half, which, time permitting, I will relate here, but let's be clear—what's going on here is like the Barrington struggle, but a thousand times larger, a thousand times more significant, a thousand times heavier, in battle, in repression. Over 1000 squatters here from Germany mainly, but also Italy, Canada, the US, Japan, Peru, etc. have taken over old, dilapidated buildings and through sheer dedication and struggle, turned them into habitable buildings with communal kitchens, cafes, libraries, etc., etc. and more—into a real community, a vibrant and colorful community, where gays and lesbians are out and strong, where anarchists argue politics, plan actions and so on. And of course, 95% of these people have no jobs, making



it even more remarkable that these buildings were revived from decay by hook and by crook—pooling their scrapings together for food, for heating coal, and shoplifting heating coal, and shoplifting thrives as well.

Now, where I left off my last letter, I believe, we had beaten the police—driven back the water cannons, Panzer tanks, teargas, riot squads through barricades and bravado. We returned home to rest some, back to Mainzer late the next evening when word came that additional Panzers were coming in from Hamburg, that more cops were also arriving from outside of Berlin, including special forces, like a few hundred crack troops from the border police.

We arrived at Mainzer to find a very serious pre-war atmosphere, with groups of masked men and women, scrambled around purposefully, extending barricades, piling rocks, scattering buckets of water throughout the streets as an antidote to teargas, likewise fire extinguishers in the streets and the buildings, in case of fire caused by an exploding teargas cannister or an errant molotov. (These were put to good use at 1 am when smoke began pouring from the basement of an apartment across the street from the squats, and a fierce battle

steeply sloped tile awning with a six inch rain gutter that might stop a falling body but probably not. They are very good, however, at stopping a falling teargas cannister, which allows them to expel their contents onto the roof from beyond arm's reach. Several squatters spent the afternoon building

shoot flares, to sling stones, and are pretty much driven back by tear gas cannisters, which are nearly impossible to see in flight, now that dawn has arrived and the sparks are essentially invisible. Moreover, the cops now seem to have much better aim and are able to skim the gas right over the ledge from the

Finally, I should note that the roofs were taken by the German special forces, the SEK, with all kinds of training, climbing, special weapons, "anti-terrorist," etc., 2-4000 cops in all.)

So, now we stayed on the street a bit, but finally go back in the squat and up to a large common room on the second floor, 50 or so. A number

*"Here is an episode where violence is effective, has instrumental value. Without rocks, the squats would have been destroyed. Moreover, they are fighting for something sustainable, a community. . . Clearly thousands of hours have gone into finding, entering, repairing, planning, painting, partying, all for the squats."*

"Spanish barricades" — those rolls of barbed wire strung together by wooden stands that you see for miles and miles between borders of hostile countries. The intention is to keep away the police who we figure will try to take the roof of a church under construction which adjoins the Mainzer roofs.

Downstairs for 15 or 20 minutes of fitful sleep before an airhorn sounds the alarm from an undeter-

street, and moreover, the weapons now spew 2 or 3 cannisters with each shot, and finally, we are much easier seen in daytime and make better targets. A couple guys are hit painfully in the legs and we are forced back, made ineffective.

Meanwhile on the streets the battle is similar to the other day except the police do not pull back, they use 2 water cannons at each of the 2 intersections they attack, and they now have a tractor that can get through the barricades, impossible for the Panzers; and awfully important, they can scoop up dirt and fill the trenches to allow the water cannons access to Mainzer. The police escalation is met by more militancy on the streets as many more mollies are tossed at the cops; I saw one go down in flames, don't know if he was really hurt or not.

On the roof things go badly too as the police get inside the Church attic and begin firing tear gas at us from small portals which are all but impossible to bullseye with rocks. We are forced to squat behind the numerous small chimneys for cover. Situation worsens as the police make it onto a factory roof only 25 yards away, which has a 10 or 15 foot height advantage over us. Mollies hold them off a bit but we're doomed, we have no access really to bombard the street as we would be riddled with gas cannisters. Still, we cling to the roof as long as we can: understanding that once the cops get full control of the roof it's over. I feel like an IRA guerrilla facing English sharpshooters, as I dive from cover to cover expecting a piercing blow. Funny how smaller fears are driven out by greater ones as I lose all fear of the edge and am able to dive face first onto the hard roof. In fact I bruise my ribs but don't realize it until hours later. Bizarre feeling to peer over a chimney into the barrel of a modified automatic weapon. Tear gas goes shooting by, bouncing off the roof, and as they reload, I jump up, goading, find myself jeering "Fasciste!" arms raised in invitation.

Alas, the tear gas is overwhelming, the roof untenable and as the police advance on the street, we don't want to be caught on the roof, or even to be trapped in the squat, so we drop down through to the attic, scramble onto the street where it's already essentially over.

(Note on roof: Anticipating a helicopter assault, a few balloons were filled with helium and tied with fishing line to points on the roof. A helicopter did fly over, but was used only for reconnaissance and intimidation, and whether or not they had intended to storm the roof with their assistance, I can not guess. Likewise, I cannot say what effect the balloons played, but I do suspect they did fear our flareguns, and in fact they were fired at the chopper, always falling short. Also, it should be clear that the tear gas, although effective as a chemical agent, was mainly used as a projectile, for me a much greater fear and therefore a more powerful effect.

of people called for going to the basement where the squats were connected, but I didn't go because my comrades from Lubbinstrasse stayed. Big mistake, as it turns out, because A.L. and some others did get out that way. Instead, everyone went about madly throwing off helmets, masks—illegal in Germany—changing clothing, tossing away jackets, gloves reeking of petrol, scarves, etc. That done, we waited with not a small amount of fear for the police to come in, broke bread and cheese. Finally, hear the door being kicked in downstairs, and a few minutes later a cop came in and says a couple words on a bull horn, exits to much laughter. I need no translation. "Good morning. You're under arrest."

Police enter the room; I'm scared as people say they might beat us, we are enclosed, they might gas us (this is Germany, re-united and strong). We begin clapping as large, green beings behind shields back us into a corner, and then, too, they clap—clubs against shields—clack, clack, but not move to beat us. And as we wait for the next hour or so (nabbed at 9:00 am), it's funny the difference between these cops and the American breed. These guys are more jaded? working-class? I'm not sure how to describe it but they are rather uninterested in us, letting us continue to eat bread and cheese, talk, sing, move about. In fact, 3 or 4 even fall asleep in chairs, to the amusement of everyone else. They sort of try to keep us away from the windows, but not real hard. At one point, a great moment, someone, somewhere puts on this German punkish song, "this is our house" (they tell me this is a Pipi Longstocking song) to which everyone sings along, whistling the tune when the music stops and singing boisterously again as the tune is rewound and played again. Another great moment when this Italian Anarchist and I, joking with each other in English, wondering about German prison, began chanting "I scream, you scream, we all scream for Ice cream" and everybody, most having been "down by law" join along.

Slowly we are, one by one, brought into the next room, searched, taken away. Finally I am

brought in, searched by this total asshole woman who keeps sneering at me, telling me I will see the military police, that I won't be leaving Germany for a while. I'm then taken downstairs into an anarchist cafe/bar which has been made into an impromptu holding cell, where I'm greeted with champagne. And we're having quite a lot of fun in this room, as the police are leaving us alone, and one man plays bartender, and we patrons, serving up Becks all around, on the house, and finally the cops come through, helmets on, sticks out, steal our beer, only half drunk. About this time the press, which has been allowed in the streets, presses forward to the iron grated window, and wouldn't you know it, the first one there is BBC, so I'm pressed into service, to express the squatters views, and I do OK, being pushed a lot on how much violence the squatters were responsible for and at first minimizing it, saying the police were responsible, much more violent, etc. etc. then realized, hey, why deny it, so I said, look, people have a right to protect their community, their homes, any way necessary, that it's a crime to drive people from their homes in winter, etc., etc. That barricades and stones are used around the world in such situations, that we're radicals, young people carving out free space in opposition to the state, and that's why we're attacked so forcefully — we're a threat to the state. Got a rousing cheer from the comrades, made me feel good, especially because A. had been encouraging me to seek out the English speaking media. The rest of the time the BBC kept asking about how we were being treated, which I answered rather poorly, joking about the hospitality of the State.

In any case, so much for German efficiency, as I wasn't released until 8:00 am (almost 24 hours later). Facilities actually not bad, but couldn't get much sleep as the guards kept going back and forth processing us, and their was much anger and yelling for "essen!" (food). The police throw all your possessions—shoelaces, belts, all pocket matter, etc. into a basket, and so I had \$300 US stolen by the cops, which much pissed off the head cop, and a report was filed so we'll see if I can get it back (might be good work for the US consulate).

The rest of the day has been a blur, for it's now 3 days with only a few hours of scattered sleep almost for everyone, which has, to say the least, not helped the stress level around here. For me the hours of the day have no meaning, just tired/not tired, light out/dark, as I'm still in "transition" from US time. Also, I'm a bit of a wreck in appearance — no bath in a week, one pair of jeans only, been washed once, but horribly filthy as is my new red jacket, which took some paint on the first day in Berlin, leaning against the wrong wall, and is now all shades of grays, browns, etc.

As always, the struggle brings people together, focusses us, and I

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ensued for maybe an hour as 300 squatters quickly organized bucket brigades to dump hundreds of gallons of water and dirt on the fire).

Surreal scene — walking the streets, I pass a small group huddled around the back of a car on Mainzer, following the directions of one of our medics. Assuming there was an injury, I started over to assist and found the medic was actually giving a quick lesson on molotov assembly. The autonomen Sanitater ("Sanis") are very radical as well as organized. They wear white helmets, gas masks, and a red cross with a power-fist on top, and their goal is to keep us fighting, so as you flee the teargas you will find 3 or 4 sanis yelling "vasser, vasser" and squirting water into peoples eyes. They also have MDs who get up a small semi-hospital in one of the squats where many rioters were taken, some with quite serious injuries, like the man shot with a teargas cannister in the head from maybe 15 yards and who required at least a dozen stitches.

Well, upstairs groups of friends hold meetings to discuss their plans for the defense. My group splits in 2, half to barricades, the rest to the roof; where a misty dew leaves the tar a bit slippery, adding to the danger of falling to one's death as there are no railings, only a

mined intersection. The streets come to life as everyone scrambles to their chosen barricade or balcony, etc., or puts a finishing touch on a barricade, caps the last molotov. The police, it seems, are attempting to confuse us by playing cat and mouse as they roll by the corner barricades and back into the pre-dawn night. We sit on the roof, looking out over the still sleeping Berlin, can't see far into the haze, vision blurred by autonomen-style ski-masks drawn together at the bridge of the nose by safety-pins, heads warmed by black, battle scarred helmets distributed earlier, anxious but with a sort of inner stillness, few words spoken. And at last, almost as a relief, the police begin the attack. Again the stakes are high, both for the community (the squats will not be left intact this morning without a victory) and individually the obvious fears of injury and arrest, and of course the cops are angry — pay-back time, and clearly better prepared, as we can see by the overwhelming numbers — 2 or 3 Panzers, maybe 4 or 5 water cannons, and a small army of riot squads at the ready.

As the Panzers clear a path to the large barricades for a police bulldozer, squatters on the roof move forward to chuck stones, mollies, to





# Getting It Together: Building Local Anarchist Collectives



BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

**T**HIS IS THE THIRD IN A series of articles about anarchist organization. In the first two articles I discussed political problems surrounding the question of anarchist organization and some of the practical activities involved in building a network of anarchist activists. In this article I focus on the organization of local anarchist political collectives, which I believe are the necessary foundation for any more ambitious continental or national revolutionary anarchist organization.

## Local Anarchist Political Collectives

Anarchists organize themselves all sorts of different ways. A political collective is one such form of organization. It is not the only form, but I would argue that it is a necessary form if we hope to build a serious revolutionary anarchist movement. This article is informed mainly by the experiences of the two collectives I have been active in, the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League (RABL) and Autonomous Anarchist Action (AAA). The experiences of other groups like Bay Area Anti-Racist Action (BARA), Ecomedia Toronto, various AYF groups, the Youth Greens and others would broaden this discussion and raise different questions. I hope these experiences are brought into the discussion that this article is intended to generate. I certainly don't think that my limited experience is a sound basis for any definitive discussion of these questions.

### What Is A Political Collective?

An anarchist political collective is a group of anarchist activists in a particular city or town who share a deep commitment to working together to develop a collective revolutionary praxis. A political collective should be committed to security in the face of what we know about state repression. A political collective shares a political analysis of what is going on in the world and what can be done about it. A political collective is committed to overcoming the authoritarian social conditioning of its members through a continual process of struggle that attempts to grapple seriously with the complex ways our psyches, personalities, and political selves have been socially constructed.

A revolutionary anarchist political collective aims to bring together as many serious anarchist

activists in a given area as possible to coordinate their activity and increase the effectiveness of their actions. The political collective is a local anarchist organization that meets regularly and discusses the political situation locally, nationally, and globally. The political collective attempts to assess what struggles have the most potential for revolutionary anarchist participation.

As the anarchist movement grows it will become possible to concentrate our energies in particular communities and workplaces and initiate struggles as part of our own plan of action. But for now, most of our activity should focus on struggles that arise on their own. That means in some sense coming into some struggles from the "outside," from outside the community that is directly involved in the struggle. Some people object to the practice of looking around to see what struggles are most promising as "opportunism." Opportunism means cynically taking advantage of a struggle for your own purposes without honestly supporting the struggle and recognizing the agency of its participants. The practice of joining a struggle with no other purpose than to find "recruits" needs to be distinguished from the practice of strategically assessing what struggles are most important, given the strictly limited resources of the collective.

A good example of how a collective goes about joining a particular struggle is the recent movement against the war in the Persian Gulf. Last Fall lots of anarchist groups began to focus on the war brewing in the Persian Gulf. Like lots of people we were motivated by a sense of moral outrage at this war. But we also had an understanding that this war, and the movement to stop it, would radicalize a lot of people and make them more receptive to anarchist ideas. There are a lot of morally outrageous things happening on this planet. Through a process of collective discussion, AAA decided that the war was one thing around which we could begin to build the kind of movement we want to see.

After choosing its focus, the collective sets about organizing its own participation in the struggle or struggles it has chosen: making sure people go to all the relevant meetings and events, preparing leaflets and other literature analyzing the struggle from an anarchist

perspective.

In New York AAA chose as a main tactic building anarchist contingents to broader anti-war demonstrations. Some times these contingents played a major role in setting the tone and direction of these demonstrations. We attended some of what we considered to be the more important planning meetings to fight for the multi-tactical demonstrations that we saw as most effective in both bringing new people into the streets and raising the costs of the war. At many demonstrations we brought leaflets that offered both our analysis of the war and some of our criticisms of what we saw as the authoritarian features of the movement.

As a particular struggle unfolds the collective attempts to analyze its own practice: Was this the right struggle to join? Did we come on too heavy or were we steamrollered by other groups? Have any lasting relations with other groups emerged? How have we contributed to the overall outcome of the struggle? Has anyone met people who are sympathetic to our politics? How did we fuck up? What did we do right?

As the struggle against the war proceeded we continued to debate whether or not we should be doing anti-war work at the expense of everything else. At some demonstrations we felt that we hadn't pushed hard enough for more militant direct action. At others we felt we pushed too hard and possibly alienated potential allies. These assessments informed our participation in future events.

Through discussion, the collective should attempt to draw lessons from its experiences that can be applied in other situations. The collective should also develop an understanding of the history of other movements so that it can relate its experiences to other experiences and judge whether the lessons of a particular struggle have broader or narrower implications. Was this struggle a success or failure because of unique local conditions or does it reflect a more general development in society?

AAA discussed the similarities and differences between the war in the Persian Gulf and the war against Vietnam. We organized a showing of "The War At Home," a film about the movement against the Vietnam War and discussed what we saw as the lessons of that

period.

At times the collective might throw itself entirely into a single struggle. At other times it will divide its energies amongst many struggles. There is a dynamic relationship between the individual and the collective. Every individual resonates to different struggles because of their own personal experiences and their understanding of history. It makes sense that people who feel an organic connection to a particular struggle should join it, report on it to the collective and represent the collective in their participation within it. At the same time situations arise in which the collective sees a particular struggle as demanding the full attention of all or most of the collective.

### Local Conditions

The collective is essentially a local structure. It needs to be rooted solidly in the local conditions. One of the first tasks of a collective is to familiarize itself with the full range of local struggles: What are the main trade unions? What have been the main struggles around development? What schools are most politicized? Who are the leaders of the various organizations? What are their memberships like? The collective should also familiarize itself with the main features of the local area: What is the population? What is its composition in terms of class, age, nationality, sexual identity, religious and political affiliation and so on?

How does the local government actually work? What are the major industries? What are the major corporate and financial institutions? How big is the police force? How is it organized? What are the nearest military installations? How are all these things changing? Why? This seemingly mundane information is essential if the collective is to be able to see beyond its own subjective experience and develop an analysis that is rooted in the actual conditions.

### Beyond Affinity

For many anarchists the basic unit of anarchist organization is the affinity group. Many affinity groups may effectively function as political collectives. I don't want to get bogged down in a semantic argument here, but I believe there is a meaningful distinction to be made. "Affinity" is a very broad term. Affinity groups may be organized around a

group's affinity in the form of common politics, but just as often it is organized around the school one attends, the type of work one does, or even one's astrological sign.

The Affinity Group was a creation of the Spanish anarchists. It has since been popularized as a form of organization in the anti-nuke and anti-war movements in North America. Certainly for the purposes of carrying out street actions the Affinity Group has compelling merits, and is certainly preferable to the crowds of well marshalled and atomized individuals that make up most demonstrations. But there are serious limitations to the Affinity Group as the single model for anarchist organization.

Building a revolutionary movement requires more than just affinity. It requires a collective commitment to common politics. Without such a commitment, the affinity group becomes more a medium through which to express some points of (too often superficial) agreement than a means by which to develop the political understanding of the group.

A political collective is organized on the basis of common politics. It isn't necessary that everybody like each other, just as long as they are able to work together on the activities of the collective. Where the affinity group tends to define itself in a way that is intended to keep its membership limited to a specific circle of people, the political collective consciously seeks to reach beyond its current circle to broaden its support in the community.

An affinity group is a self-limiting structure that usually doesn't get much bigger than about 25 people. A revolutionary anarchist political collective seeks to unite as many revolutionary anarchist activists in a given area as can be united. To be sure there are special difficulties that confront anti-authoritarian organizations that grow beyond a certain size. But we need to take those difficulties head on and develop authentically anti-authoritarian structures that can involve large numbers of people if we hope to convince people of the possibility of an anarchist society, let alone make a revolution to bring it about.

The creation of local organizations that are able to grow beyond the size of the affinity group is based on an understanding that such structures are necessary for directing our energies most effectively towards our common ends. It is also based on an understanding that not only are mass democratic structures possible, but that if we are serious about creating a situation of revolutionary dual power we need to learn how to create and work within such structures now.

### A Commitment to Struggle

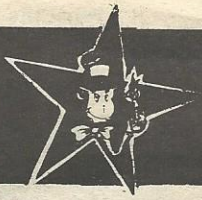
To say that a political collective is committed to common politics should not be interpreted as meaning that those politics are fixed or monolithic. It is important to the political life of the collective that there be both room for dissent and an understanding that the development of common politics is an ongoing process that includes acknowledging mistakes.

What makes it possible for a collective to have explicit political positions, make room for dissent, and be committed to constantly revising the politics of the group? These things can only coexist in a group where everybody is honestly committed to an ongoing process of political struggle. That means more than just a commitment to struggle for the politics of the col-

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# Notes of Revolt



## The New World Order At Home

A new bill, HR 4079, co-sponsored by Representative Newt Gingrich and Senator Phil Gramm, calls for the declaration of a five year national state of emergency to round up millions of illegal drug users in internment camps. Drug users would be found using mandatory drug testing on almost everybody above junior high school age.

The bill would reopen the Japanese Internment Camps used during WW2, change all maximum sentences to minimum sentences and add one year on to the sentence of anybody caught with drugs in the camps, with no right to appeal. These are just the highlights of this draconian bill. Don't say you didn't know.

## Riots 1 Poll Tax 0

BRITISH Prime Minister John Major, bowing to massive resistance, has decided to repeal the unpopular Poll Tax instituted by his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher. Under the guise of increased local fiscal accountability, the Poll Tax levied flat rates, per capita, defined with each area. Thus residents of rich suburbs with few social ser-

vices located in the area could pay substantially less than residents of inner-city neighborhoods where social services were concentrated.

While British activists are considering the repeal a victory—it comes after a year of rioting and other forms of mass resistance to the tax—Major has announced that the tax may be replaced with other taxes, which while more "fair" in relation to income and wealth, may increase the real tax burden on many people. There will be a more in-depth article about the Poll Tax and resistance to it in the May issue of *Love and Rage*.



## Big Easy Fights Back

THE New Orleans Circle-A Collective is currently occupying an apartment in the Tremé neighborhood of New Orleans in support of the efforts of neighborhood activists to fight off a massive gentrification project. The Tremé neighborhood is one of the oldest and most significant cultural spaces for African Americans in North America. It is the oldest neighborhood of free people of color in colonized North America—with free Africans, African Americans and Native Americans living here since the 1700s. This is Louis Armstrong's neighborhood, and the location of the famous Congo Square—one of the only places in North America where free people of color gathered on "free Sundays" to dance and drum in the traditional ways, hold an open market, and try to keep their cultures alive.

Now the Rouse Corporation—the same people who have developed countless now-indistinguishable waterfronts from Boston's Faneuil Hall to Flint, Michigan's expensive

downtown development—want to turn Armstrong Park into a paid-admission amusement park and turn the area into another faceless, gentrified neighborhood.

This is all part of the 2010 Plan, a sweeping development plan intended to coopt and subvert the history and culture of the Tremé neighborhood. The Tremé Neighborhood Improvement Association will be holding their 4th annual street fair on St. Phillips Street on April 20th. This fair, which will include bands, food and parades, is intended to show the continuing vibrancy of Tremé. For more information, contact:

Info  
Circle-A Collective  
1303 Ursulines, Apt. LF  
New Orleans, LA 70116  
tel.: (504) 529-1264

or  
Tremé Neighborhood Improvement Association  
1319 St. Phillips Street  
New Orleans, LA 70116

## Breaking the Glass of the Ruling Class

STUDENTS stormed the office of New York State Governor Mario Cuomo, overturning furniture, smashing trash cans, and shattering a pair of tall glass doors, in a demonstration against state budget cuts that will force many poor and working class students out of school. At least 20,000 people, mainly African Americans, demonstrated in Albany, the capital of New York, against sweeping budget cuts. The demonstration was called by the

Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus.

The cuts in education, health care and other services will mean a \$500 per year tuition increase for students in the public college system. Chanting "Tax the Rich!" a few hundred students marched from the main rally into the governor's office and demanded to see him. When he refused to meet with them, they tore the place up.

## IMPULSE

IMPULSE is a rowdy zine that describes itself as "a Wisconsin anarchist journal." The latest issue is packed with neat stuff including thoughts on the Student Environmental Action Coalition, excerpts from George Jackson's *Soledad Brother*, an article on the ecological consequences of US colonialism in Puerto Rico, a discussion of "Jesse James, working class hero" and much more. \$2 and a stamp will get you a copy from:

Impulse  
c/o Jon George  
Route 1  
Red Wing, MN 55066

## Mmmmmrow More Than Ever

THE first issue of *Combat*, the newsletter of the Animal Liberation Front Support Group (Canada) is now available. It includes accounts of ALF actions around the world with a long list of actions from Edmonton. For a copy write to:

ALFSG  
Box 42, 10024 82 Ave.  
Edmonton, Alberta  
T6E 1Z3 Canada

## Cops cross donut line

WE continue to receive reports of widespread resistance to the war that were suppressed by the capitalist media. A four-page account of actions in Austin, Texas is typical of the number and diversity of actions that occurred in towns and cities from coast to coast.

The day the war started, demonstrators occupied the capitol. The next day they took a major intersection and one protestor placed a line of doughnuts on the ground between the police and the occupation "possibly to create a barrier insurmountable for even the most stalwart of cops." It didn't work.

On February 2, Youth Against Militarism/Anti-Militarist Action held an anti-media demonstration where they smashed a TV set. For the full report contact:

Austin Resistance Report  
P.O. Box 7962  
Austin TX, 78713-7962

## Youth Liberation Gathering

THE Youth Liberation Gathering being held in Ottawa, Canada on August 9-12, 1991 is an anarchist/anti-authoritarian gathering, focusing on youth liberation (an issue long ignored). You do not have to be a youth to attend the gathering, as most of the issues that will be addressed affect us all. However, there will be some "youth only" workshops (if that is desired by those holding the workshop). Those who want to do workshops are encouraged to do so. Free space will be available for spontaneous workshops. Some ideas for workshops are: Youth and the Law; Racism; Sexism; Homophobia; Psychiatry; T-shirt making; Economic bondage of youth; Skool; vegan cooking; etc.

Other than workshops there will also be films, a picnic, a gig, and

other events. There will be a Welcome Party on Friday night.

Lodging and food are being worked on. Please bring a sleeping bag. For those of you with tents, bring them up. It will greatly ease the lodging problem. There will be areas to camp. Childcare is being organized.

The organizers are looking for input. Contact them if you need lodging or have special needs (allergies, etc...), if you can volunteer for childcare. If you can help with translating (english-french, french-spanish, spanish-english) please contact organizers.

For more info contact:

AYF Ottawa  
P.O. Box 4402, Stn. E  
Ottawa, Ontario  
CANADA K1S 5B4  
tel.: Uri: (613) 233-9251  
Alex: (613) 739-3686

## Stop de Snuffelstaat!



Two Dutch anarchists track the secret police in Nijmegen, before exposing the entire force in a pamphlet. (See *Love and Rage* March 1991)

Cover yourself with a subscription to *Love and Rage*. Indicate your preference and send your check or money order to:

Love and Rage  
Box 3, Prince St. Station,  
New York, NY 10012 USA

\_\_\_ \$7 for a third class subscription (slow mail).  
\_\_\_ \$12 for a first class subscription (fast, in an envelope).  
\_\_\_ \$12 for an international subscription  
\_\_\_ GI? PWA? Prisoner? Check here for a free subscription.  
\_\_\_ I would like to support *Love and Rage* with a monthly pledge of: \_\_\_ \$10 \_\_\_ \$20 \_\_\_ \$50 \_\_\_ \$100 \_\_\_ Other

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

The following groups support *Love and Rage*. If you like what you see in *Love and Rage* and would like to find out more about revolutionary anarchism contact the group closest to you.

Revolutionary Group X  
P.O. Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60680

Revolutionary Anarchist  
Bowling League  
P.O. Box 10854  
Minneapolis, MN 55458-3854

Love and Rage  
Supporters in Atlanta  
P.O. Box 2234  
Decatur GA 30031-2234

Collective Action  
P.O. Box 44563  
Detroit MI 48244

Circle A Collective  
P.O. Box 29095  
New Orleans, LA 70189

Bay Area Anti-Racist Action  
P.O. Box 3501  
Oakland, CA 94609

The Alternative  
UT P.O. Box 16156  
UT Station  
Knoxville, TN 37996-4900

Autonomous  
Anarchist Action  
P.O. Box 3  
Prince Street Station  
New York, NY 100012

Autonome Forum  
P.O. Box 366  
Williamstown, MA 01267

Art Decco  
P.O. Box 12504  
Raleigh, NC 27605

Amor y Rabia  
P.O. Box 45-2001  
Miami, FL 33245

### CANADA

Outaouais Outrage  
P.O. Box 4051, Station E  
Ottawa, ONT, K1F 5B1

Ecomedia Toronto  
P.O. Box 915, Station F  
Toronto, ONT, M4Y 2N9



(Continued from page 4)

an inch to breathe. He ordered his troops to defend a position he knew he would eventually have to concede, and thereby sacrificed thousands of their lives to the US assault on Kuwait. Who can blame them for surrendering? Who can refuse to support their revolts against him now that they are under way?

#### Kurds Get Their Way?

At this writing Iraq is in a state of civil war, Kurdish resistance fighters claim to have control of 95% of Iraqi Kurdistan, and Shiite rebels in Southern Iraq have captured many small cities while fighting continues in Baghdad. The US is interpreting the ceasefire as allowing it to prohibit Hussein's forces from using aircraft against those insurgencies, and has shot down Hussein's jets operating in Kurdish areas.

The US is most likely playing a game of wait-and-see with the insurgencies in Iraq — not giving them open support but using its stranglehold on Baghdad to give them a little room. The US does not have a clear interest in the triumph of either of these insurgencies. An Islamic fundamentalist revolution in Southern Iraq would only encourage fundamentalist forces in the rest of the Arab world who are already challenging regimes that aligned with the US, such as Egypt. A Kurdish victory would encourage Kurdish resistance in Iran, and more problematically for the US, in Turkey as well. The "Balkanization" of Iraq would tip the regional balance of power in favor of Iran and Syria. This is not desirable from the viewpoint of US imperialism.

What the US is probably hoping for is that a section of the Iraqi ruling elite will decide to depose Hussein in order to ensure the territorial unity of Iraq.

What then should be the view of revolutionaries in North America to the insurgencies? On the one hand if Iraq is divided as an indirect result of the US war, it will only strengthen the appearance of US omnipotence (even if the US attempted to prevent it behind the curtains). Around the world, countries will not stand up to the US for fear of being utterly destroyed. On the other hand, these insurgencies are rooted in the real and legitimate demands of oppressed people for self-determination. Our position should be clear: Kurdish and Shiite self-determination will break down divisions between the people of the Middle East created by the artificial colonial boundaries of states like Iraq and is a small step towards an eventual confederation of autonomous peoples in the region.

#### No War But The Class War?

This war should compel us all to develop a much more authentically anti-authoritarian anti-imperialism. The dead end of supporting despots like Hussein should be obvious. But the formula that is offered as an alternative—international working class unity against both sides—is crude and simplistic. It is important to expose the class nature of Hussein's regime and reject the idea that the interests of "the Iraqi people" are monolithic. But it is just as important to challenge the myth of an undivided international working class with a clear set of common interests.

There are huge differences be-

tween the standards of living available to workers in the US and workers in Iraq. National oppression is real. The international system that keeps the average Iraqi in a state of desperate poverty is the same system that floods the US with cheap petroleum-based consumer goods. While both workers have a common interest in ending their own capitalist exploitation, the US worker has a contradictory interest in the continued exploitation of the Iraqi worker that supports his or her position of relative privilege. As long as international capital remains intact, or as long as the US worker remains aligned with the US empire, the Iraqi worker has a short-term common interest with the Iraqi ruling class in strengthening Iraqi national capital at the expense of US capital.

Many anarchists have embraced a "class analysis" of the international situation that amounts to class reductionism, that is to say reducing a complex set of social relations to their class component and ignoring the autonomous character of other lines of struggle. The traditional anarchist contempt for the manipulation of national identities by nationalist leaders has blinded many to the hierarchical and authoritarian relations between nations. An authentic and revolutionary anarchism needs to oppose the domination of weak nations by strong nations and see the fight for national self-determination as an authentic component in the overall fight against all forms of domination.

Historically, anti-colonialists looking for a revolutionary and internationalist analysis that recognizes their legitimate

grievances have turned to some form of Marxism. It is our responsibility, then, to make anarchism relevant to those who are standing up to US imperialism. This does not mean compromising our anti-statism or abandoning our critical understanding of how nationalism becomes an obstacle to human liberation. It does mean going beyond a narrow "class analysis" of international relations.

Ultimately, of course, there is a common interest between the workers of both countries. But international solidarity is not built by shouting "No War But The Class War" while working class US pilots rain napalm down on working class Iraqis. It is built concretely by building a movement here that can stop the war there, that recognizes the right of the Iraqi people to self-determination, free from US aerial bombardment. If we don't make that our priority, our internationalism is a fraud.

#### What Next?

There will be more wars. The US will not always be able to choose its wars as carefully as it chose this last one. Around the world, in El Salvador, Korea, Palestine, and the Philippines, US supported regimes face old insurgencies. And new insurgencies will break out. Supporting the US will carry heavy costs for a number of Arab regimes. A successful uprising in any of the Arab countries currently aligned with the US will transform the US victory into an objective defeat. In this respect, the war may really not be over.

The US left was unable to respond quickly to the Gulf crisis last August because there had been so

little preparatory political education and organizing around the situation in that region. The Middle East will continue to be a major area of conflict. We need to give it more attention than we did during the '80s. We need to familiarize ourselves with the conditions in every country — Who is in power? What are the main opposition forces? How closely is the country aligned with other powers?

We need to build a movement against any continued US military presence in the region. This will not be easy work. We will not be able to pull out thousands of people into the streets now that the war is over. But it is work we have to do nonetheless. We need to challenge the dehumanizing portrayal of Arabs in this culture and make the lives and struggles of people in the Middle East real to people in North America.

Ultimately, we need to build a movement here that understands that US imperialism needs to be defeated wherever it raises its head, that is able to respond clearly and coherently to complex situations like that surrounding the recent war. We need to build a movement that goes beyond slogans and is committed to a thorough understanding of international politics.

Imperialism is a monster that will rise and rise again until it is completely destroyed. Domestic opposition to war can place certain constraints on the war machine, but it can not bring an end to war. A world without war will only be possible when we complete the revolutionary overthrow of those social systems that make war inevitable.

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do feel closer to these folks, and they to me, giving each other big hugs after release.

Still, like I said, there is enormous anxiety here about the squatting scene as to how far the police will go, and fear too about the 3 squats left in West Berlin, since it turns out police were seen inside Lubinstrasse the morning of the riot when no one was there. As this squat is a year old and considered pretty secure and has a very central role in the whole squatter movement, and probably the central role here in Kreuzberg, there is some concern. I too am worried on a very personal level, for when evicted nothing is returned, which means I lose my back pack, sleeping bag, extra clothing, etc. and I've already had my camera stolen while I was at Mainzer or in jail (yes). And it's ironic; I lost K.'s camera (or should say it was stolen) at the Barrington riot, and each camera had a full role of film in it — that's 72 photos

gone, alas. I also had my swiss army knife taken by the cops.

It's interesting though. After heavy action, my material things seem really less important. It's difficult to explain, but this kind of struggle seems to leave me more focused, hardened a bit. You know, putting a ski-mask and a goofy-looking street fighting helmet should have had me cracking up, but, no, it was just the right thing to do. It's like those guys firing flares, slingshots, molotovs—it's real work, hard work, and it was necessary: appropriate, people's lives were/are at stake, and I suppose I'm glad to be here to struggle with them.

How this translates into the rest of my life is unknown, and not worth speculating.

Over 350 were arrested, taken to many jails throughout the city (we were driven for over half an hour to the far southwest of Berlin) and some, it has been said, were beaten, shoved, etc. While we were being held in the squat one cop said

"This is like the Santiago Stadium in Chile, 1973." (Referring to the torture and executions of hundreds of Chileans.) Some joke! We found it pretty hard to laugh at that.

That night there was a demo and march over Mainzerstrasse (which is now sealed off) to which 7-9000 attended, and after some rock throwing and whatever, 100 more were arrested, bringing to a total of 450. And we're talking here largely about "black bloc" anarchist/anti-imperialist, committed radicals. In my jail cell there was an American, an Italian, and a Japanese. Berlin has its draw right now, as Mike E. can tell you. Come on out.

Right now, most of the house is at a big meeting to decide the course of defense, of action. So there is surely more news to come. Much more.

Upon discussion with one German, I have to make something crystal clear, the squatter/anarchist scene here is about autonomy, community, vitality, and not organized

around violence, street fighting and so on. Clearly, thousands of hours of work have gone into finding, entering, repairing, cleaning, planning, raising money, dealing with bureaucrats, petty officials, painting, partying, all for the squats, that it's hard to even imagine time being spent planning revolution. Don't get me wrong; these people are revolutionaries and most probably support armed revolution, but this is not what occupies their daily lives, per se. I have been here maybe a week, and a complete fluke has placed me into this struggle. Action of this kind is seen only once every few years here in Germany.

For those of you who've visited Kreuzberg, this explanation is unnecessary. For those of you who haven't, or who don't know me real well, please understand that I write extensively about the barricades because we do go to the barricades in the States, we share this experience, and we can learn from this struggle, can sympathize with the sit-

uation, and yes it is exciting. But we also understand that this is a bloody business—people end up in hospitals, with jail sentences, are exposed to brutality of all sorts. If I've romanticized any of this I apologize. If I seem excited, I am. But this excitement is within a context of sharing, maybe for a short time, but of sharing this community lifestyle which is being put down with brutality. I do not like to see people hurt, but when you seek to destroy the people who've housed me, fed me, taken care of me, people who are honest, dedicated, human beings, then I will feel a surge when you are lying on the ground, flames licking at your body, with more molotovs on the way.

Well, I'm really exhausted, existing in a haze, and I'm sure the first paragraph is pretty disjointed, unclear, but I hope you get what I mean.

This is our house.  
Ich bin ein Berliner,  
Jeremy

**Love and Rage** is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any prepackaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the constant and radical revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

#### Love and Rage is revolutionary.

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the emergence of a fighting movement as a step toward making the social revolution.

#### Love and Rage is anti-statism.

We oppose all States whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.



#### Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

We support all efforts to overthrow all forms of class rule and state power. We support strikes and other forms of workers struggle for control of the means of production.

#### Love and Rage is anti-racist.

We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We support the self-determination of Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans and other oppressed groups. We recognize the special oppression of African-Americans since slavery to the present and fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the U.S. We fight the resurgence of anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism. We take front rank in the fight against racist skin-head, klan, nazi and cop terror.

#### Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

We support the right of self-determination of nationalities oppressed by the various forms of imperialism. We fight to get the U.S. out of Central America, Puerto

Rico and all other lands. We support the destruction of the U.S. Federal State. We support the destruction of the Soviet Empire and the liberation of its peoples. We are for the destruction of Apartheid, the IMF, World Bank, multi-national corporations and other forms of imperialism.

#### Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

We are for the liberation and self-determination of all womyn. We are fighters against patriarchy and for the empowerment of womyn. This means, minimally, unquestionable reproductive freedom for all womyn regardless of race or economic status and a world free of sexist violence. We recognize that the oppression of womyn is necessary to the continued functioning of the State. The State will not solve our problems. Our liberation lies in the overthrow of the State.

#### Love and Rage supports Lesbian, Bisexual, and Gay liberation.

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family, and support attempts to foster a diver-

sity of consensual human relationships and sexuality.

**Love and Rage** will support the struggles of youth against their specific oppression.

**Love and Rage** makes a special effort to provide a platform for youth. We recognize that the revolutionary future lies with the youth.

**Love and Rage** supports the struggle against the domination of the natural world.

We recognize that the current industrial order, built on the exploitation of the planet and its inhabitants, has given rise to an ecological crisis that threatens the very survival of life on the planet. We support the movements that resist further destruction of the planet. We see the need for the revolutionary transformation of our relations with the planet and the species on it. We want to stop and reverse the destruction of the wilderness. We want to stop and reverse the poisoning of the air, land and water. We are against the exploitation of animals in factory farming and testing systems. We oppose the attacks by the State on the animal liberation movement.

This statement does not attempt to include all issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians, nor does **Love and Rage** pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

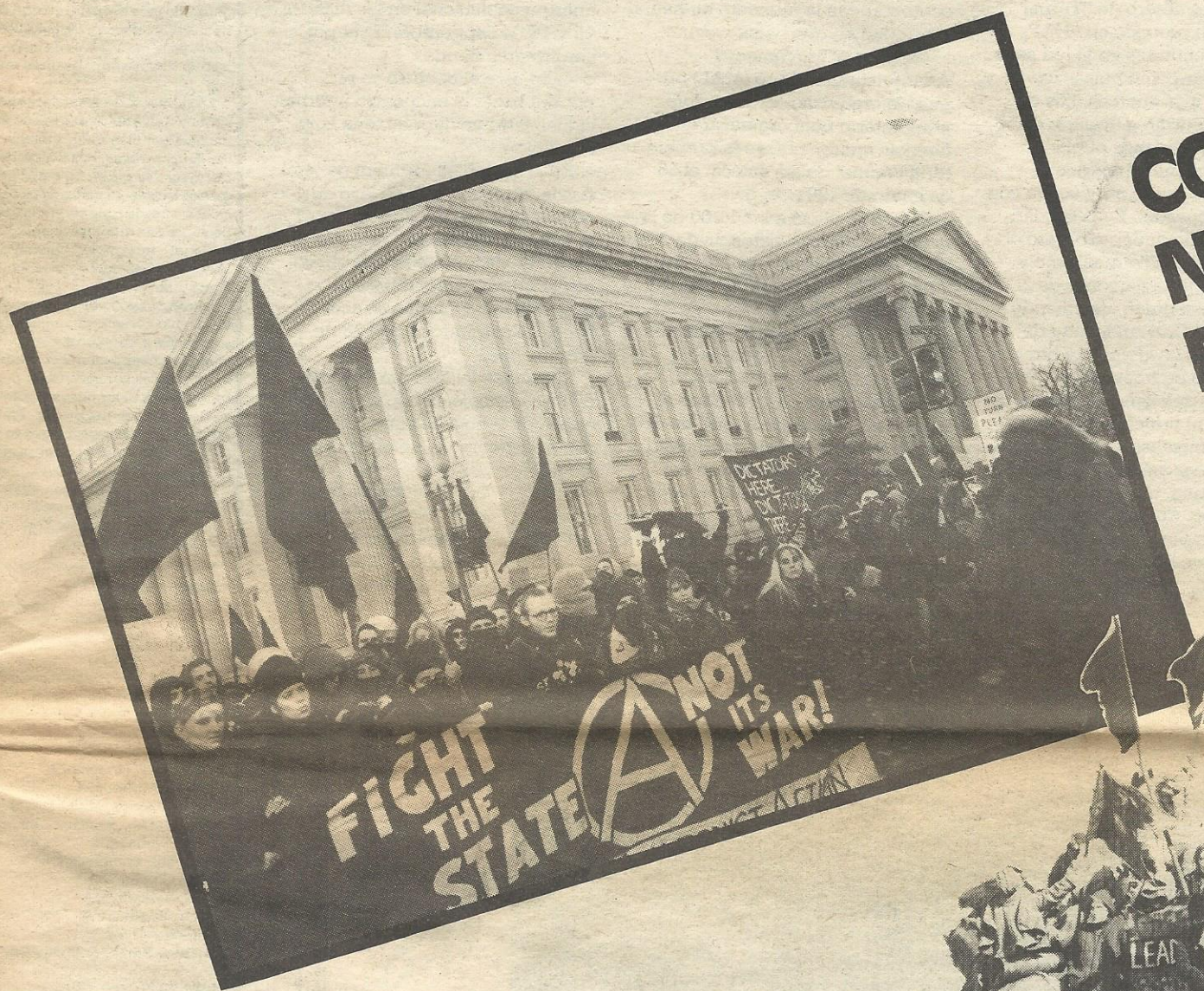


# AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

Año 2 Número 4

Abril de 1991



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NEGRA  
FASTIDIA  
EL BANCO  
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## Conferencia Anarquista en Mexico

Este carta fue recibido de uno de los miembros del grupo plantificador de la conferencia anarquista en Mexico (el día 28 de inero, 1991) y dirigido a Tet, el "Bound Together" colectivo y todos los anarquistas Norte Americanos interesado en la conferencia y el progreso del movimiento en Mexico.

¿Quihubole? Les envío saludos fraternales y noticias frescas. Recibimos su carta de 4 de diciembre de 1990. Tardo como 15 dias en llegar, y ya habia enviado mi carta. Tenemos algunas dudas:

¿Sólo han enviado una carta?

(La del 4 de diciembre.)

¿Enviaron alguna carta con Enrique? (El no trajo nada.)

¿Tienen problemas con Luis S.?

¿Provocó problemas la carta que envié en diciembre?

Acá en el D.F., recibimos la visita de 2 compañeros de la revista *Smut*, Erik y Drake, y observamos falta de información. ¿Tienen relación con ellos? (Fue agradable platicar con ellos.)

Por otra parte, acá los problemas y peleas han sido menos y pequeñas. Lentamente la convivencia es mejor, pero las ideas y posiciones no cambian. Sin embargo, veo posibilidades para que la "escena" mejore.

El intento organizativo que creó la "red libertaria" ha cambiado mucho. Encontramos muy difícil poder conjugar los ritmos, dinámicas y estilo de trabajo de cada colectivo. La situación estuvo así:

TV-Neza — grupo que al trabajar en neza con grupos de colonos organizados en la UPREZ (Unión Popular Revolucionaria Emiliano Zapata) sufre una división. Una sección carga con el trabajo y no tiene tiempo para salir de Neza a las actividades de la red libertaria. La otra sección llamada "Rabia Anti-social" edita un fanzine y realiza proyecciones con videos punks. Asiste a las reuniones y presenta un documento de propuestas. Una preocupación fuerte de ellos es evitar que se "institucionalize" la red, y cuando piensan que esto pasa, se retiran. La otra sección se incorpora, pero con muy poco tiempo de participación.

Sin Leyes — grupo anarcopunk-feminista. Ellas hacen muchas críticas al machismo y autoritarismo

de diferentes compañeros de la red. Dándose pequeñas peleas en las reuniones. Se desaniman progresivamente y creen que sólo cambios radicales en las relaciones personales podrían cambiar la red.

CCRRP — colectivo punk, que apoya trabajo de solidaridad con el movimiento obrero de "Tornel" y marchas de protesta en el D.F. Sus representantes en la red se radicalizan y quieren mas acciones y se sienten mas anarcos. Los demás se empiezan a desligar de la red y se sienten mas punks.

El Movimiento Anarquista-Libertario — grupo muy activa con varias propuestas. En la solidaridad con el movimiento obrero observan la falta de entusiasmo y participación de personas de la red y se desaniman, decidiendo dejar la red. Critican la falta de compromiso de la gente y hay un sentimiento de frustración. Deciden seguir trabajando autonomos.

Motin — al principio hay entusiasmo y consenso en la participación. Despues se dan 3 posiciones en el colectivo: Una, critica la red como grupo ortodoxo e institucional. Otra postura es: estan mal, pero hay que trabajar juntos. Y otra dice: si, nosotros vemos fallas, pero necesitamos proponer solu-

ciones y trabajar aun mas para resolver la situación.

Con la salida del mal se dejan de hacer reuniones formales y a nivel personal se realizan varias reflexiones: hay una sensación general de fracaso. No se comprende qué pasó y por qué. Algunas personas de diferentes colectivos quieren continuar con la red, pero no hay seguridad en que hacer y como.

Despues el Movimiento Anarquista-Libertario (MAL) propuso la organización de un foro preparatorio para organizar la conferencia anarquista, en la preparatoria popular de cd. azteca, el 26 de enero de 1991.

El foro se inició a las 11:00 de la mañana con una asistencia de 20 personas. Notamos que sólo habia 2 personas de mas de 40 años, un grupo de 26-30 años y otro de 17-20 años. Considero que ahí estaban presentes 3 "generaciones" diferentes de anarcos.

Se presentaron 3 ponencias al foro (estoy buscando copias de estas para enviárselas.) Al principio hubo discusiones por el uso del fondo que enviaron (1500 dolares.) Se acordó que se:

1) Hicieran 2 cartas, una colectiva por el foro y otra yo, o sea esta carta, para preguntarles ¿Que hacemos con el fondo de \$1500? ¿Lo

podríamos usar para un encuentro anarquista nacional, lo devolvemos a ustedes o proponen otra cosa?

2) También se discutió mucho si habia condiciones para hacer un encuentro internacional o no. Se acordó que no.

2) Se acordó hacer un encuentro anarquista nacional en los días 14, 15 y 16 de septiembre. Esta por confirmarse donde.

4) En éste encuentro se pondrá hacer el encuentro internacional, y les enviaremos toda la información.

En la asamblea (primera general desde, abril de 1990) se leyó su carta y también la contestación que envío Mestre. La carta que envíe yo en diciembre la hice sin copia. ¿Podrían mandarme una copia? Gracias. También se acordó hacer un segundo foro el 23 de febrero, 1991.

El trabajo del foro fué mas cordial y se trabajo en aspectos organizativos. Ahora se ven posibilidades mas concretas de obtener resultados.

Fraternalmente  
Braulio Alfaro  
Regeneracion-Motin  
Apdo. Postal #9090,  
Mexico 1, D.F.



Conferencia Anarquista en Toronto, 1988.

*Amor y Rabia* es realizado por una red de simpatizantes los cuales estan de acuerdo en linea general con la Declaración Política de *Amor y Rabia* y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía para que *Amor y Rabia* sea una realidad. Las decisiones mayores y la política general se determinan cuando todos los simpatizantes se reúnen mediante una conferencia. Las decisiones interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo a las decisiones de la conferencia), las toma consejo editorial, integrado por personas de diferentes regiones, que se reúnen varias veces al año y se comunican por teléfono y por correo. Las decisiones cotidianas (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la conferencia y del consejo editorial), las hace el grupo de producción editorial que reside en New York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, los simpatizantes de *Amor y Rabia* se han organizado para cooperar en el apoyo al periódico a nivel local y algunas veces participan en la red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes militan solos.

La mayoría de los colaboradores de *Amor y Rabia* están activos en esfuerzos por cambiar al mundo, además de publicar *Amor y Rabia*. Los simpatizantes están involucrados en un amplio rango de grupos locales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asuntos específicos y en organizaciones que militan nacional e internacionalmente y muchas veces escriben sobre sus actividades en *Amor y Rabia*.

La red de apoyo de *Amor y Rabia* no es un círculo cerrado de amigos, zsi estás conforme a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pídele más información a la persona que te vendió o te obsequió tu copia del periódico, o escribe a:

*Amor y Rabia*  
Box 3, Prince Street Station  
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Edición	Fin de Plazo	Día de Imprinta
Mayo	8 de Abril	22 de Abril
Junio	6 de Mayo	20 de Mayo
Julio	27 de Mayo	10 de Junio

*Amor y Rabia* es un periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario antiautoritario en Norteamérica. Proveeremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia (contracultura). Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la dominación, haciendo posible un marco de unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-enlatada. El anarquismo es un cuerpo viviente de teoría y práctica, conectado directamente a las experiencias de los oprimidos que luchan por su propia liberación. Anticipamos la revisión constante y radical de nuestras ideas como parte necesaria de cualquier proceso revolucionario.

### Amor y Rabia es revolucionario.

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperación, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerla realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento autogestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio que sea necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre y de la miseria generada por el sistema actual. Apoyamos la necesidad del desarrollo de un movimiento de lucha como paso dirigido hacia la realización de la revolución social.

### Amor y Rabia es antilestata.

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados como quiera que estos se autotitulen: Capitalistas o comunistas.

## Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia

### Amor y Rabia es anticapitalista.

Apoyamos todos los esfuerzos por derrocar toda forma de dominio de clase y poder estatal. Apoyamos las huelgas y otras formas de lucha obrera por el control de los medios de producción.

### Amor y Rabia es antirracista.

Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y militamos por la creación de una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los mexicanos, de los chicanos, de los indígenas nati-americanos y otros grupos oprimidos. Reconocemos la especial opresión de los afroamericanos desde los tiempos de la esclavitud hasta el presente y la lucha del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos por su liberación y autodeterminación. Luchamos contra el resurgimiento del racismo hacia los asiáticos y los árabes. Nos colocamos al frente en la lucha contra los racistas fachas cabezas rapadas (skinhead), el Ku Klux Klan, los Nazis y el terror policíaco.

### Amor y Rabia es antilperialista.

Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los

pueblos oprimidos por las diferentes formas de imperialismo. Luchamos por expulsar a Estados Unidos de Centro America, Puerto Rico y de todos los otros territorios. Apoyamos la destrucción del Estado Federal de EU. Apoyamos la destrucción del Imperio Soviético y la liberación de todos sus pueblos. Estamos a favor de la destrucción del Apartheid, del FMI, del Banco Mundial, de las corporaciones multinacionales y de todas las otras formas de imperialismo.

### Amor y Rabia es antisexista.

Estamos a favor de la liberación y de la autodeterminación de la mujer. Esto significa, como mínimo, el cuestionable derecho reproductivo de todas las mujeres sin diferencias de razas o estado económico y por un mundo sin violencia sexista. Reconocemos que la opresión de la mujer es necesaria para continuar con el funcionamiento del Estado. El Estado jamás resolverá nuestros problemas. Nuestra liberación solo será posible mediante el derrocamiento del Estado.

Amor y Rabia apoya la liberación de las lesbianas, de los homosexuales y los bisexuales.

Rechazamos la heterosexualidad obligatoria de la fa-

milia patriarcal y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una diversidad de relaciones humanas consensuales y sexuales.

Amor y Rabia apoyará las luchas de los jóvenes contra su específica opresión.

Amor y Rabia se esfuerza especialmente en promover una plataforma para la juventud. Reconocemos que el futuro revolucionario está en manos de la juventud.

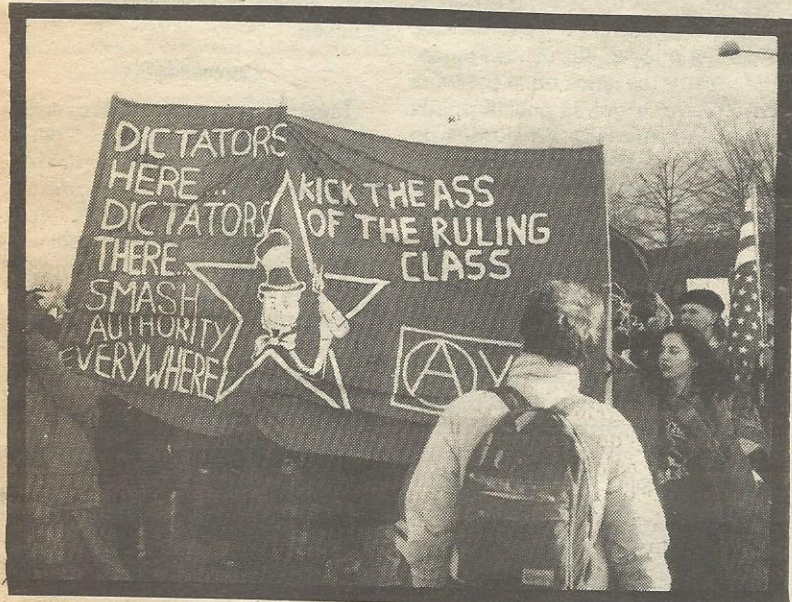
Amor y Rabia apoya la lucha contra la dominación de la Naturaleza.

Reconocemos que el sistema industrial actual, construido sobre la explotación del planeta y de sus habitantes, ha causado una crisis ecológica que amenaza la supervivencia en el planeta. Apoyamos los movimientos de resistencia contra la continua destrucción del planeta. Vemos la necesidad de una transformación revolucionaria de nuestras relaciones con el planeta y las especies que lo habitan. Queremos detener la destrucción del medio natural. Queremos detener e invertir el envenenamiento del aire, de la tierra y del agua. Estamos en contra de la explotación de animales en las granjas industriales y en los sistemas de prueba. Nos oponemos a los ataques del Estado contra el Movimiento por la Liberación de los Animales.

Esta declaración no intenta incluir todos los asuntos que conciernen a los anarquistas y antiautoritarios, ni *Amor y Rabia* pretende un entendimiento a plenitud o una plena unidad de criterios sobre todos los temas. No pretende representar el espectro completo de la diversidad en el movimiento anarquista actual. No evitaremos la controversia. Le pediremos siempre ideas y sugerencias a nuestros lectores y a otros activistas esforzándonos por mejorar nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en que militamos.



# COLUMNA NEGRA FASTIDIA EL BANCO MUNDIAL



POR PAUL O'BANION

**L**A CONTINGENCIA ANARQUISTA a la marcha sobre Washington DC era una ocurrencia importante para el político del oposición de que debemos aprender. La contingencia expresa una tendencia militante en el movimiento anti-guerra dispuesto a arriesgarse y subir la costa social de continuar la guerra. También inyectó humor irreverente y espontaneidad dentro de una marcha que otramente de dejó estupefacto. Cualquiera que participó sabe, sin embargo, que la contingencia anarquista tenía su porción de problemas.

Un conocido reciente de Washington DC observaba que la burocracia inmensa de la capitol tiene el efecto de amortiguar a gente. Los anti-autoritarios congregados no eran inmune a éste hipnosis, cuando después de que parecía horas de esperar cedé a un arrastramiento congestionado y desorganizado por las calles. Al momento que estuvimos en las calles se puso claro que casi todo la gente no han tenido el tipo de experiencias que lo ayuda ver la necesidad para formar una columna.

Tal como era, cantamos algunos cantos divertidos, y en general lo pasamos bien, dando un poco de vida al manifestación. Disfrutamos de un ataque dramático y entretenido contra el Ministerio de Hacienda, tumbamos una cerca en frente del edificio del FBI y tenemos un acción de rompimiento con la marcha relativamente exitoso contra el Banco Mundial. Todo esto fue importante y satisfactorio. Pero si nosotros hemos sido mejor organizados hemos podido hacer muchísimo más. Aunque nuestro conocimiento sobre la táctica de la Columna Negra no estaba muy alto al empezar la marcha, lo que ocurrió durante del acción de

rompimiento nos enseñó lecciones valiosas.

## Columna Negra

La llamada a formar una "Columna Negra" fue acompañado con la llamada de una contingencia anarquista. Pero a llamar que ocurrió una Columna Negra — excepto en algunos momentos cruciales — será a reducir nosotros a una parodia mero del Autonomie de Europa Central, de donde la táctica emergió. A lo largo de la marcha parecemos incapaz de hacer las cosas básicas necesario para marchar en una columna: andar en filas, ligar brazos y juntarnos cercamente, etc. Posteriormente los que venían a la contingencia con la esperanza de que conocimiento militante de la calle y una estructura de una Columna Negra podía fomentar acción mas confrontacional no sintieron confidente para conseguirlo. Si hubimos sido mejor organizado, por ejemplo, grupos de afinidad hubieron sentido mas habilitado a romper del grupo y expresar su rabia con la confianza de un retorno a una columna segura.

En marcha en una columna limite la capacidad de la policía a hacer arrestos, también envía un mensaje a la clase de reglas que un sección del movimiento esta bien organizado y puede tomar el ofensivo. Es un táctico que debemos tomar mas seriamente para manifestaciones en el futuro.

En el desarrollo de un movimiento para pelear similar al autonomie corremos peligro de un apropiación simplístico de forma (ropa negra, mascarar de esquiar, cascos, etc.) Sin un conocimiento del contenido. Aunque el movimiento autonomo existe en cierto modo por Europa Central, es el movimiento Aleman, su mayor parte en Berlín, de que

oyimos mas. El autonomie Aleman traduce aspetamente a los que son partidos de autonomos. Autonomia de los partidos Democraticos Sociales y Comunistas era parte del movimiento identidad inicial.

El primer época importante para el autonomie ocurrió en 1981 en Berlín del Oeste cuando hasta 160 edificios estaban ocupados por "squatters." Estos edificios o "squats" y lotes vacantes fueron transformaron a espacios para vivir, cafes, centros de información, y jardines, constituyendo puntos de oposición al estado, capital y patriarquia. Este naciente de "poder dual" es el base para el autonomie, en vez de manifestaciones de la calle solamente. Acciones de la calle ocurren para protestar el continuo pillaje por los países avanzados capitalistas de los países pobres del hemisfero del sur, por ejemplo, pero también para proteger "espacios libres" del autonomie de los ataques del estado.

El autonomie creció fuera de condiciones sociales y políticos específicos en Alemania Oeste contra un represión estatal llamado "criminalización" desde el medio a los últimos años de 1970s. Han desarrollaron una forma de política revolucionaria que funciona entre el aislado, contraproducente, extremo del Fracción Ejército Rojo y la estrategia parlamentario limitado de Los Verdes.

Aunque el autonomie son un inspiración tremendo, necesitamos desarrollar un movimiento apropiado a nuestro contexto, en vez de simplemente imitando imágenes romanticas de personas contraatacando. Necesitamos entender las relaciones entre la política de oposición de la calle y el proyecto mucho mas grande de revolución social. Manifestaciones militantes en la calle solamente no van a crear un sociedad libre. Igualmente importante es educación, confrontando formas varios de dominación (por ejemplo sexismo, homofobia, y racismo), el revivificación de un esfuerzo publico para debate abierto de ideas, la creación de estructuras democráticas y contra-instituciones, una estrategia largo plazo, y un visión de un futuro libre, democrático directamente, y ecológico.

## Lecciones Aprendido

Falta de participación en el reunión para hacer decisiones antes de la marcha era uno de los problemas inicial de la contingencia. En el futuro un reunión y sesión informal para socializar debe ser organizado y bien publicado a participantes. El bajo concurrencia en el reunión por parte debido a comunicaciones malas sobre la colocación y plan de el reunión.

Problemas fue componeron después de este error inicial. Muchos que participaron no se enteraron que un conjunto táctico y plan para romper con la marcha ya estaba decidido, aunque otros — casi todos hombres vocales — exhibieron hostilidad descubierto a los dos mujeres haciendo decisiones tácticas. Sin una estructura formal en su sitio, los mas vocales normalmente terminan "tomando la delantera" al resto. Para evitar esto es importante que el grupo autoriza individuales a hacer decisiones tácticas, allí mismo y rapido. Un conjunto táctico es responsable a las personas que les autorizan.

Comunicación durante la marcha es también muy importante. Corredores pueden ser utilizados para solicitar opiniones sobre el próximo acción, luego volver a dar la información al conjunto táctico. En una ciudad no conocido a la ma-

yoridad de los participantes, anti-autoritarios locales deben también proveer mapas y por lo menos una persona local que conoce el área a el conjunto táctico.

Conflicto entre el conjunto táctico y los que apoyan una perspectiva anti-organización simplístico y los que tenían otras ideas para romper con el grupo — sin decir nada de los que estaban frustrado y confuso — dar razón para parte del disorganización del día. También los conjuntos tácticos podían aparecer a algunos autonombrado en vez de delegados autorizados. Para evitar que Jo Freedman describe precisamente como "una tiranía de la falta de estructura" es esencial que una estructura ser decidido democráticamente y ser reconocido por todos en el grupo.

## Grupos de Afinidad

Trabajando en grupos de afinidad por dentro de una columna mas grande es otra manera adicional a empeñar en protesta militante mientras minimizando probabilidad de arrestos como el bloque negro, es un táctico para expresar nuestro ira sobre los injusticias de nuestra sociedad aun que nos protegemos de la prosecución del estado. Trabajando cuidadosamente con un grupo pequeño de gente en que fiamos y conocemos, podemos ser mejor suportado mientras hacemos acciones en la calle.

Pero grupos de afinidad son mas que simplemente un táctico para manifestaciones. Ellos desarrollan el tipo de sociedad del futuro que

queremos en nuestra vida hoy en día.

Como el nombre implica, grupos de afinidad son grupos de gente que tienen algun afinidad y decidan trabajar juntos. Originaron con los anarquistas Españoles, preparando el terreno para la revolución de 1936 cada día en la vida de sus colectivos. Grupos de afinidad fueron reanimaron para el movilización del 1° de Mayo 1971 contra la guerra Vietnam — en que tácticos móviles fueron utilizados en un intento a cerrar el capitolio — y luego por grupos feministas tratando de subir el conocimiento y grupos contra la energía nuclear en los 1970s.

Grupos de afinidad también aseguran "espacio libre" para que gente podían romper de seguir la pauta de dominación que somos victimas de y para aprender ser anti-autoritario genuinamente. Previenen el basis para mover más allá del mito de "individualismo asperoso" y a una espera de mutualidad y cooperación donde podemos empezar a liberarnos del sexismo, homofobia, y racismo entre otros aflicciones. Por dentro de los grupos podemos aprender a tomar decisiones de una manera directamente democrática. Previenen para el desarrollo equilibrado del individuo, un intento que caracteriza mucho de la tradición anarquista. Como señala Jessica Benjamin en *Bonds of Love*, para ir más allá del dominación necesitamos encontrar un ba-

(Continúa en la página 4)



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# TACTICAS ANARQUISTAS PARA LAS GRANDES MOVILIZACIONES

FOR AUTONOMOUS ANARCHIST ACTION

**T**ANTO LOS ACONTECIMIENTOS ocurridos en casa como alrededor del mundo han sido tomando un ritmo turbulento, los anarquistas han estado comprometidos con las luchas callejeras más que nunca. La guerra en el Golfo Pérsico ha traído una serie de movilizaciones de masas, impulsados por diferentes grupos izquierdistas y liberales. Los anarquistas revolucionarios deben organizarse para llevar el elemento "anti-autoritario" a esas demostraciones de manera de preparar el camino para un rápido cambio social con dirección anarquista.

Es necesario para nosotros entender como protegernos de la represión policial y de los arrestos durante aquellas demostraciones. Muchos de nuestros compañeros anarquistas tienen muy poca o casi nula experiencia en el trato con la policía. El propósito de este artículo es compartir el conocimiento que poseemos en ésta materia con todos aquellos que participan en los contingentes anarquistas.

## Grupos De Afinidad

Una de las mas efectivas tácticas que podemos usar para defendernos de la represión durante las acciones callejeras; se domina "grupos de afinidad": pequeños grupos de personas que se conozcan y se tengan mutua confianza. Una especie de "compañerismo," pudiendo ser utilizado tanto al interior de los grupos mas numerosos como en un segundo nivel de autodefensa.

Es muy importante permanecer con el grupo que tú llegaste al sitio, de la demostración, hasta que se termine y estas a una distancia segura del lugar. Una táctica muy co-

mún utilizada por la policía, es elegir en blanco específico entre los manifestantes y sorprenderlos cuando se van alejando, solos y ya sin protección. Esto es responsabilidad de los miembros de estos grupos que vigilan por cada uno de nosotros y intervendrán si uno de nosotros es aprehendido por la policía o alguien más.

## Desarresto

Este término es en verdad, una libre expresión: impedir el arresto de alguno de nosotros. Las autoridades lo catalogan como, "una interferencia contra la fuerza pública." Lo hemos pensando como forma de prevenir capturas por parte de individuos armados y de suma peligrosidad.

Muchos de estos arrestos pueden ser exitosamente resistidos si la gente esta preparada para hacerlo. Existen dos elementos esenciales que hay que saber. El primero de ellos es que el arrestado debe resistirse, para no ser apartado del grupo manifestante. En segundo lugar, la multitud necesita intervenir "forcejeando" hasta liberarlo. Todo esto ocurre en materia de segundos. En definitiva es un forcejeo llevado acabo por un grupo de compañeros. El desarresto puede salvar a muchos de una desagradable situación, y es nuestro trabajo evitarlo.

## Proteger Tu Identidad

Muchos creen que el único peligro que corremos en una manifestación es haber sido detenidos. No ocurre así. Constantemente, agentes policíacos graban por video el transcurso de una demostración. Proteger tu identidad usando pasamontañas, pañuelos, bandanas etc. Ofrece una efectiva protección contra cualquier intento de identificación por parte de la policía o el FBI. En muchos de los casos que se llevan a cortes, estos videos se usan como evidencias. Cubriendo tu identidad te protegerá durante y después de una acción. Si la policía logra solo describirte como uno de los cientos de manifestantes que visten ropajes oscuros y caras cubiertas, les será muy difícil realizar arrestos y salir victoriosos en falsos procesos contra nuestros compañeros.

## Columna Negra

La columna negra es una táctica que tuvo origen en Europa, y ha es-

tado siendo utilizada exitosamente en sitios como Berlin; donde la resistencia militante contra las estructuras de poder han ido en mayor ascenso que en las demás regiones del bloque oriental. La "columna negra" es esencialmente un grupo de anarquistas que hacen una cadena con sus brazos formando una fila que avanza al mismo tiempo. Cuando es apropiado o cuando los recursos lo permiten, la columna puede ser más ambiciosa. Cuerdas pueden ser usadas extendiéndose a los lados de la columna para prevenir que la policía pueda coger gente desde los bordes de una marcha. Personas ubicadas atrás y en los bordes pueden llevar cascos, escudos, y otros implementos de protección.

Todas estas medidas preventivas deben ser llevadas a la práctica durante la acción. Pues la policía siempre trata de individualizar a los organizadores o a cualquiera, acusándolos de interferir en su trabajo y promover disturbios. La columna negra puede también ser una "punta de lanza" para las acciones directas contra objetivos apropiados a

lo largo de una manifestación. La columna se abre y se cierra para así, dejar a la gente fuera y de esa forma pueden realizar la acción, protegiendo al resto y escapando de la policía. No solamente por el simple hecho que haya una columna, debemos presumir que una "acción directa" se llevará acabo. Dependiendo de las circunstancias, la columna actuará y conforme a lo preparado que estemos para asumir la situación.

## Provocadores

Muchos extraños se cuelan entre los manifestantes y animan a participar en acciones que de seguro terminaran en arrestos. Tales ofertas como, bombas "molotov," son hechas por estupidos o agentes encubiertos. Ignoremoslos. Algunos difunden rumores de dudosa procedencia. En una de las manifestaciones pasados, tuvimos que poner atención a estas cosas.

## Conclusión

La policía llama a sus "funciones represivas" durante las manifestaciones como: "control de multitudes." Si nosotros nos comportamos como tal, pues sus metodos resultarán exitosos. Sólo atravez de la organización y planificación, podremos frustrar sus hábiles y sucias maniobras. Llevando nuestra propuesta cuando y donde nosotros mismos elijamos.



# COLUMNA NEGRA FASTIDIA EL BANCO MUNDIAL

(Continúa de la pagina 3)

lance sano entre aserción de la propia personalidad y reconocimiento mutuo.

En este senso grupos de afinidad "prefiguran" una sociedad libre de verdad, llegando a las causas de autoritarismo y dominación. Grupos de afinidad pueden actuar solo o preferamente confederarse en sus locales, regiones o continentes. Este corto comentario sobre una tema que podía ella misma llenar un artículo o hasta un libro, es importante a reflexión sobre la contingencia anarquista, como algunos allí paracieron creer que anarquismo se trata de individualismo puro y simple — "You hago que quiero—y vete a la merda" este tipo de postura es desgraciadamente muy corriente en el movimiento anarquista. Pero no se trata, sin embargo, del anarquismo; es simplemente la perpetuación del mentalizamiento patriarcal y autoritario bajo la bandera de "anarquía."

## Ataque Sobre El Banco Mundial

Muchos, yo incluso, pensaba que el plan de romper con el grupo para atacar el Banco Mundial y el IMF (Fondo Monetario Internacional) fue mal—pensado y intemperante.

Paracido ser diseñado para enseñar que duro somos. Tambien nos puesto sin necesidad a riesgo de encontrarnos con una reacción brutal de la policía, fuera de la vista de la mayoría de los participantes de la marcha.

En el futuro, debemos intentar trabajar con otros grupos militantes como Queer Nation, ACT UP, grupos Africo-Americanos y el PSN (el Red Progresivo de Estudiantes) para planear rompiendo con manifestaciones. Un plan alternativa de que hablemos era un bloqueo de una puente principal. Un acción como ésta oferta la potencial para que mas gente se enreden. Tambien podía ser mas para subir las costas sociales de la guerra por ruptura que rompiendo ventanas y pintando grafito.

La destrucción de "propiedad privado" que es una manifestación de nuestro dominación, es un importante acto de resistencia que amenaza el estatu quo del clasé reinante. Pero, tenemos que dar cuenta del peligro de reduciendo el proceso de revolución social—un proceso que puede durar generaciones—a tanteando el daño infligido sobre capitalismo y el estado.

Con esto en cuenta. Rompiendo

con la marcha parece un triunfo relativo. De necesidad personas en seguida se organizaron como una columna. Cuando marchamos, rompimos ventanas de bancos, pero tambien los de una agencia de viajes. Cerca de éste punto alguien en la contingencia correctamente cogió el altavoz para pedir que eligimos blancos mas propios.

La columna llevo a el edificio del Banco Mundial donde la mayoría vacilaron. Algunos dejaron ventanas rotos, un mensaje de grafiti anti-guerra y la marca circulo-A. Significativamente, cuando la policía llegaron en vec de la reyerta usual con policía usando sus palos, golpeando y arrestando gente, la columna reformó, traquilamente y desafiadamente tomando la calle a reunir con la marcha.

Rodeado por el miedo de irnos solos y confrontar un institución opresivo responsable para tanto del pillaje del Tercer Mundo, parecemos a aprender lo que algunos imploraron sus comaradas a hacer todo el tiempo: enlazar brazos, quedar juntos, y tener cuidado unos a otros. Esto fue un importante experiencia que compensó para todo la disorganización que lo precedió. Ahora, formado en una columna, la

contingencia actuó como un esfuerzo efectivo.

## Desarrestado!

Un escuadron policial en motocicletas segieron la contingencia cuando volvieron a la marcha, tratando bruscamente a mover en una fila india por su lado derecho. Que sucedió confirmo además la prudencia de la columna.

Un copete de motocicleta empezó a desmontar para seguir un comarada tirando una bomba de pintura solo para ser tirado tambien con su motocicleta. El fue en pos de y aprehendió un comarada que el creó tiró la bomba de pintura, el comarada fue seguidamente desarrestado por compañeros. Quizá mas miraculoso, la jaqueta de éste individual, que llevada su cartera ha caído en los manos de el policía tambien estaba "desarrestado" cuando un miembro del la columna acudió corriendo atras del policía y lo cogió de sus manos y volvió a la columna. Todos los enredado reunieron rapidamente con la columna, que impidió la policía de intentar arrestos adicionales.

La columna movió contra la policía que ahora estuvieron en el medio de la marcha. En un movimiento dramático, los que estaban atras de la policía empezaron a rodear la policía que estaban excederon en número.

Con nadie detenido por la policía, la contingencia movió adelante, empezando un "toi-toi" empujónico del estilo Sur Africano inspirador

pero exhaustivo, a puños cerrados.

Los anarquistas reunieron con el resto de los marchadores que han congregaron en el parque escuchando discursos que casi no eran audible. Habia un reunión durante que un altavoz fue pasado de mano a mano para que la gente podrian apreciar los eventos del día y debatir los proximos acciones. Despues de un variedad de propuestas, extendiendo entre volviendo a la Casa Blanca para confrontar los contra manifestantes apoyando la guerra a marchando a la escena para demandar el micrófono, la contingencia disolvió en grupos mas pequeños quienes relajaran despues de que era una experiencia muy mezclada.

Approximadamente 200,000 personas marcharon ese día en Washington. Aunque la prensa por el mayor parte no hizo caso de lo que paso, la clase reinante recibió las noticias—una minoría bastante grande en éste pais estan en contra de éste guerra y algunas estan dispuesto ha subir las costas sociales de continuarlo. Aunque son pequeño en números y organizado pobremente, la contingencia anarquista si impoñió un precio pequeño por ir a la guerra. Tal vez más importantemente, aprendemos lecciones valiosos para la larga pelea adelante, que va requirir mas de nosotros mientras ocasionamos la revolución que deseamos tan fuertemente.